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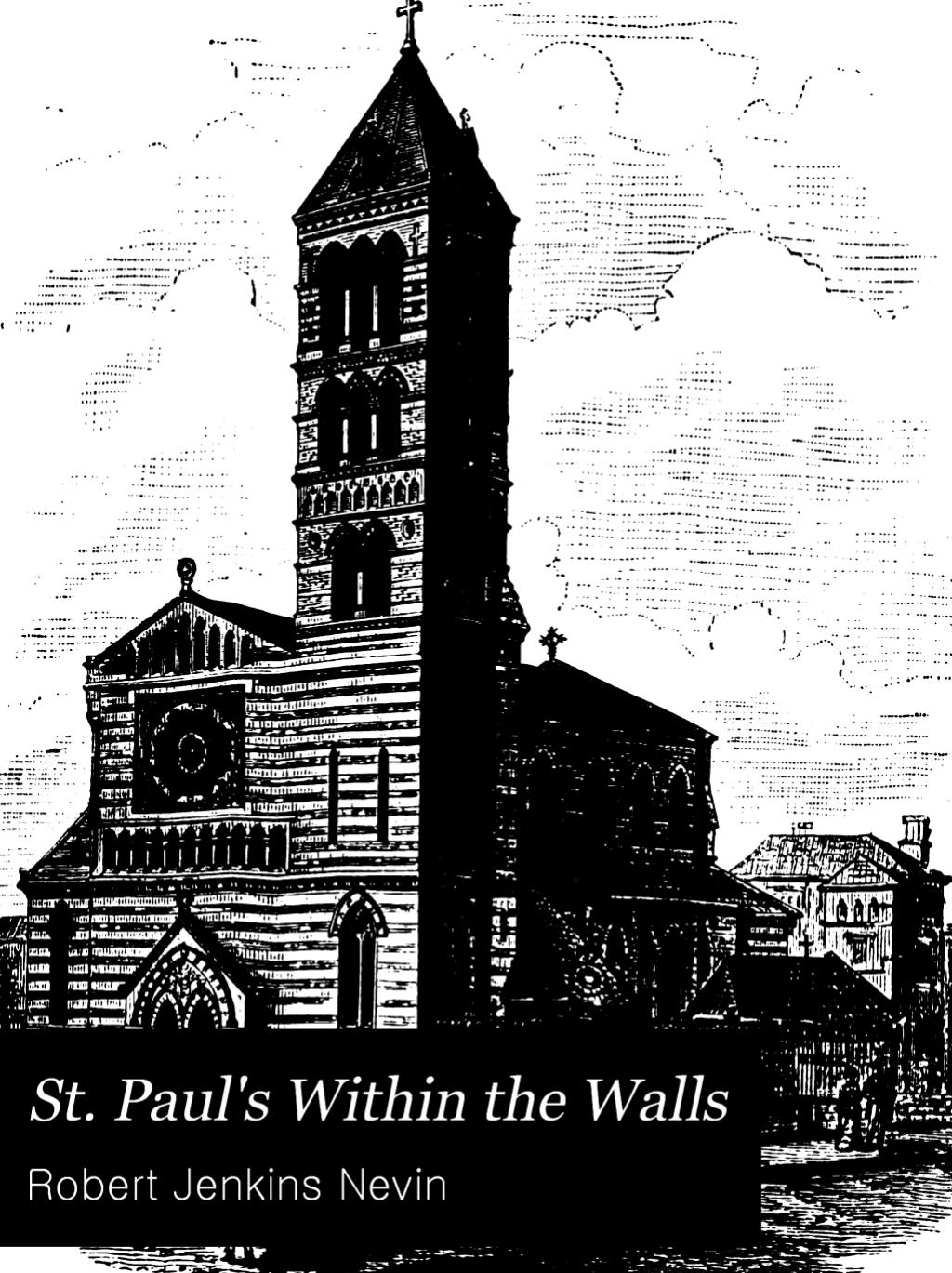
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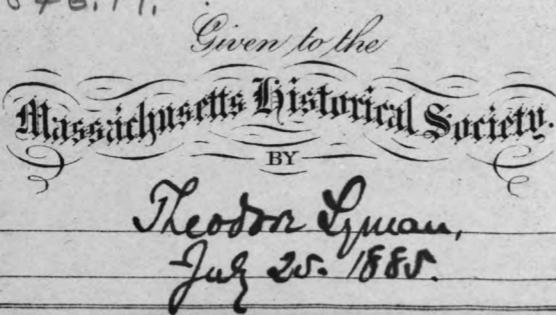


St. Paul's Within the Walls

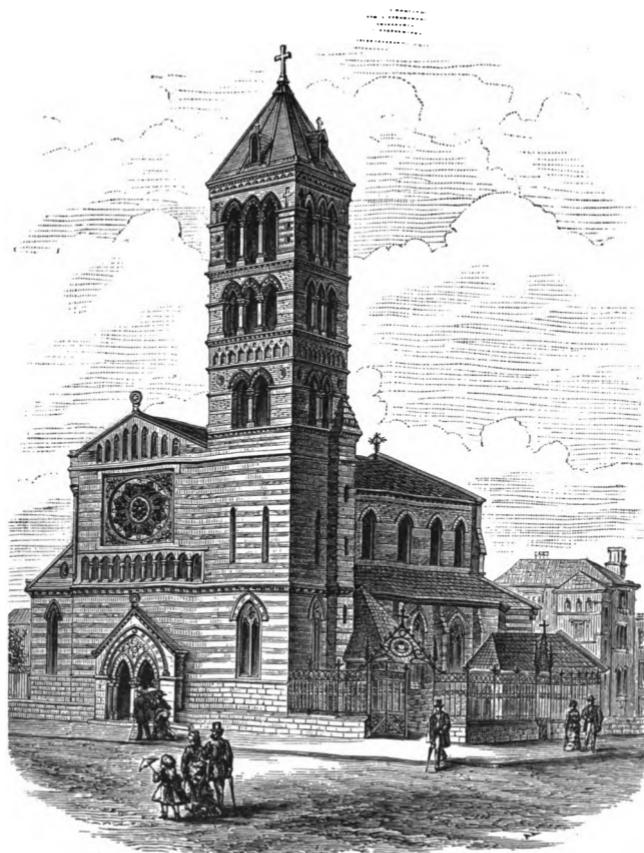
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ST. PAUL'S WITHIN THE WALLS:

AN ACCOUNT OF THE

AMERICAN CHAPEL AT ROME, ITALY;

TOGETHER WITH THE SERMONS PREACHED IN CONNECTION
WITH ITS CONSECRATION, FEAST OF THE
ANNUNCIATION, MARCH 25, 1876.

BY THE

REV. R. J. NEVIN, D. D.,
RECTOR.

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TO
THE MEMORY
OF
RICHARD CECIL NEVIN,
WHOSE OFFERED MINISTRY IN THE FLESH
OUR LORD CALLED TO HIMSELF IN THE FAR BETTER ORDERS
OF A HOLY DEATH,
THIS WORK IS REVERENTLY DEDICATED,
WITH THANKFUL ACKNOWLEDGMENT
OF THE
STRENGTH GIVEN, THROUGH HIS EXAMPLE OF
PURENESS, FAITH, AND PATIENCE.

P R E F A C E .

THE wide-spread interest manifested in the work of building St. Paul's Church in Rome is a sufficient reason for the publication of this volume. The author feels the need only of an apology for its late appearance, and begs to plead in excuse for this the exhaustion following six years of heavy and unbroken toil and anxiety, and the pressure of duties whose daily fulfillment seemed to have a first claim on his time and strength.

As it is, he fears that in his hastily-prepared sketch much that would have been of interest will be found wanting, and that full justice may not have been done to all the friends who helped so willingly and perseveringly in carrying through the work of the Church in Rome. Writing amid the inconveniences of travel, and the distractions of much work

PREFACE.

yet undone that ought to be done, and without the church records to refer to, it is almost inevitable that some points should be overpassed that he would have desired to bring into notice.

He begs, in this connection, to express his warm thanks to his friend the Rev. F. B. CHETWOOD, of Elizabeth, New Jersey, for much valued help in preparing the work for the press.

NEW YORK, *September 25, 1877.*

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ST. PAUL'S WITHIN THE WALLS.

I.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE CHAPEL UNDER THE PAPAL GOVERNMENT.

In the spring of 1859, Bishop Alonzo Potter, of the Diocese of Pennsylvania, held service and celebrated the holy communion in the city of Rome, Italy, in a private house on the Piazza Trinità de' Monti. I am informed that this was the first time that Divine worship was held in Rome according to the liturgy of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America; and also that it was immediately taken notice of by the Papal Government in a "significant and warning remark" by Cardinal Antonelli to the American Minister there resident.

In the same room of the same house, the residence at the time of the American sculptor, Mr. Joseph Mozier, was organized in the autumn of the same year the American congregation, which was the beginning of our Church work in Rome. The circumstances under which this or-

ganization was started are as follows: The Rev. William Chauncey Langdon, when abroad in 1857, had been made to feel strongly the need of a better provision for the spiritual wants of our people in Europe, and had also been convinced that political changes were soon coming to pass in Italy, which would open a great opportunity to our Church, if worthily represented there, to exercise a wholesome influence in the direction of ecclesiastical reform. He decided, therefore, in 1859, to take steps which might lead to the founding of an American chapel in Rome, and applied to the Foreign Committee of the Board of Missions for help. They declining to assume any official relations to a work of this kind, which did not apparently come within their defined field of action, Mr. Langdon started for Rome without pledges of support from any committee, but simply with the official sanction of his Diocesan Bishop, Alonzo Potter. On reaching Rome, he was warmly received by the Hon. John P. Stockton, then American Minister at the Papal court, and appointed by him to the charge of the services at the Legation, under the cover of whose flag only was it possible in those days for our people to worship God publicly in Rome. On Sunday, November 20, 1859, in a room fitted up as a chapel in the Legation, then occupying the Palazzo Bernini in the Corso, our first public services were held.

At this juncture there arrived in Rome the Rev. Isaac P. Labagh, a missionary of the American and

Foreign Christian Union, and claimed the charge of the services at the Legation on behalf of that society. This complication seems to have led to the immediate organization of a permanent American congregation, which had not been contemplated at this time. A meeting of Americans of various denominations was held on the Tuesday following, which decided upon the organization of an Episcopal church, and invited Mr. Langdon's coöperation therein. And on the Saturday following, at a general meeting of Americans in Rome interested in the matter, such an organization was formally effected under the title of Grace Church, Rome, and the following gentlemen elected vestrymen :

HON. JOHN P. STOCKTON,	JOSEPH MOZIER,
DR. FITZ-WILLIAM SARGENT,	EZEKIEL LINCOLN,
JUDGE HERVEY A. LYONS,	H. DE V. GLENTWORTH, <i>Sec'y,</i>
DR. L. S. BURRIDGE,	LUTHER TERRY.

In justice to all parties I give in full the resolutions passed at this meeting ; the more so, as the plan of referring the settlement of the whole matter to a general meeting of the Americans in Rome seems to have originated with Mr. Labagh :

Whereas, The Rev. William Chauncey Langdon has come among us to establish a permanent Episcopal church, which has long been needed here ; and—

Whereas, We believe that such a permanent church will

alone unite the Americans in Rome in one service: therefore, it is unanimously

Resolved, That we extend him hereby a cordial welcome, and, in proportion to our respective means, we offer him our undivided support.

Resolved, Also, that the thanks of the Americans in Rome are due to our Minister, Mr. Stockton, for extending to the Rev. Mr. Langdon the use of a room in his house, and the protection of our flag. And—

Whereas, Since the commencement of this enterprise, the Rev. Isaac P. Labagh, the agent of the American and Foreign Christian Union, has arrived here, sent out to continue the winter services hitherto under the direction of that body (at the Legation), and in view of the fact that the work already commenced by the Rev. Mr. Langdon is intended to be permanent, that he has come to make his home among us, and that the Rev. Mr. Labagh has expressed himself unable to assume such relations toward us; and believing, moreover, that this is now a self-sustaining parish, and need no longer be a missionary station: therefore—

Resolved, That while we return our sincere thanks to the Rev. Mr. Labagh for his coming, and to the society for sending him to us, gratefully acknowledging their past services here, we request him to inform the society of our unanimous wish for the continuation of the church already inaugurated by the Rev. Mr. Langdon, any interference with which would, in our opinion, at this time be productive of much evil.

Resolved, Also, that the thanks of this meeting are hereby tendered to the Rev. Mr. Labagh, for his Christian and friendly suggestion that the Americans in Rome should meet and decide for themselves these questions.

Resolved, Also, that the Rev. Mr. Labagh be requested to forward a copy of these resolutions to the American and Foreign Christian Union, and ask their prayers for our welfare.

So Grace Church, Rome, was organized, and on the day following its first services as a congregation were held, with about sixty persons present, in the Palazzo Bernini, and in the week following the Legation, and the church with it, was removed to the Palazzo Simonetti, farther up the Corso, where, on the 4th of December, the Holy Communion was celebrated according to our rite for the first time publicly in Rome, twenty-three persons receiving thereof. The sprout of the Church thus planted in the midst of Papal heresy throve so vigorously that it was able early in January, 1860, to send an offertory of fifty dollars to the struggling mission of Nashotah, in our Western land, and, at the end of the season, to pay its rector a salary almost equal to its present average. On the 2d of December the vestry held its first meeting, when the Rev. William Chauncey Langdon was formally elected rector. On the 11th of February, in order to comply with the canon of the Church in the United States, regulating the organization and government of congregations in foreign parts, a formal resolution was passed and addressed to the then Presiding Bishop (the Right Rev. T. C. Brownell, D. D., of Connecticut), expressing the desire of the rector, wardens, and vestrymen, that "the parish of Grace

Church, in the city of Rome, Italy, should be received under the authority of the General Convention, and be recognized as a part of the said Protestant Episcopal Church, agreeably to the provisions of said canon."

This application—signed in evidence of full unanimity by every member of the vestry—was forwarded to Bishop Brownell on the same day, but it was not until more than a year later, in the spring of 1861, that his answer was received, admitting the congregation into formal union with the Church at home. This answer was *the third* that had been sent. In those days, the ways of the Roman post-office were dark and uncertain. Not only newspapers, but letters as well, entered Rome subject to a strict but often very stupid censorship. Objectionable letters were suppressed—that is, stolen by government authority, and either destroyed or filed away for testimony against men in the hidden archives of the Inquisition. And any one who was under suspicion always got his mails late by reason of the examination through which they were passed. Two or three days' delay was nothing. Time was of no particular value in Rome under the rule of the popes. As for newspapers, one sometimes, especially in the case of the London *Times*, would receive his copy a day or two behind the regular time, with some obnoxious leader or correspondence neatly cut out of it.

The records of the vestry for this year close with a special meeting held April 23, 1860, and no further en-

try appears in the books till December 30, 1863 ; but I am informed by the Rev. Dr. Langdon that services were opened in the following November in the Palazzo Lozzano, to which the Legation had now been moved, and were continued until the beginning of May, 1861; when, on account of the disorganizing influence of the war at home upon the American colony in Rome, and the approaching retirement of the Hon. Mr. Stockton from office, Mr. Langdon returned to America, leaving Messrs. Luther Terry and John A. King, Jr., a committee clothed by the vestry with power to perpetuate the organization, take charge of the effects of the church, and take measures for resuming public services whenever it should be practicable to do so.

During the winter of 1861-'62 the services were thus suspended at Rome, while Mr. Langdon busied himself at home in trying to sustain and awaken interest in the beginning he had made. It was not until the summer of 1862 that the Rev. Dr. C. M. Butler arrived in Rome, having been appointed to the charge of resuming the services by the Rt. Rev. George Burgess, D. D., to whom a delegated oversight of the congregation at Rome had been given by the Presiding Bishop. Dr. Butler gathered together the fragments of the vestry—three members—and began services in October, in an apartment in Freeborn's banking-house. The United States Minister, then in Rome, Mr. Randall, had not yet taken an apartment, and, a few weeks later, returned to America. Un-

til Christmas, the services were of a decidedly migratory character, being held part of the time at No. 11 Via Condotti, and part of the time on the Trinità de' Monti. At Christmas-time, the new Minister, Mr. R. M. Blatchford, arrived, and took an apartment in the Hôtel de Russie, and under his protection the services were comfortably and safely carried on till the summer of 1863. The congregations at this time are reported as often numbering over a hundred.

In the autumn, however, the United States Minister had been again changed, and, until the arrival of the newly-appointed Minister, the services were held in different American houses, in various parts of the city, rarely for more than two Sundays in the same house. An attempt was made to find a resting-place in a hired hall, with the hope that, under the cover of the arms of the consulate or Legation attached to it, our services would be permitted by the Papal Government. Dr. Butler, however, was peremptorily admonished that this would not be allowed, but that only under the roof of the Legation could we enjoy this right.

The new Minister, General Rufus King, arrived in December, and at a meeting of citizens of the United States resident and sojourning in Rome, held at his residence, December 28, 1863, a full vestry was elected, by which Dr. Butler was immediately elected rector. General Rufus King and Joseph Mozier were elected wardens. Grace Church was thus revived again. A

large room was taken by the vestry under the roof of the Legation—the Palazzetto Doria. Services were regularly held there until the close of the season, with an attendance reported as often numbering two hundred persons.

During this winter the first effort was made to separate the congregation from its dependency upon the United States Ministers Resident, by securing a chapel of its own on a lease of several years. Of course, there was no hope of this being allowed within the city ; but, as for many years the Church of England had been allowed a chapel without the gates of Rome, it was supposed that equal toleration would be shown toward the American community. An arrangement was therefore made by the vestry to lease for the term of five years a large room outside the Porta del Popolo, situated just beyond the English Chapel, and which, indeed, had in earlier years been used for the services of the English Chapel. The rent was to be five hundred dollars per annum, and the vestry was to have the right of relinquishing it on three months' notice, in case of interference at any time on the part of the Papal Government. The Rev. Edward Anthon and Mr. Stewart Brown, of New York, had interested themselves especially in this matter. The greater part of the rent had been raised for the first year, and a committee appointed to fit up the room for worship during the coming season, when the Government saved them all further preparation by interfering before

possession of the room had been given. The proprietor was forbidden to carry out the contract, and sharply rebuked for having made it without asking permission of the Government beforehand. This plan having failed, Dr. Butler was unwilling to continue in charge of the services, in a character that practically was the anomalous one of chaplain to the American Legation ; and in May, 1864, resigned his charge in Rome, in order to accept the professorship of Ecclesiastical History offered to him at that time in the Divinity School at West Philadelphia.

There followed another year of suspended life, as far as the struggling organization of "Grace Church" was concerned ; but during this winter—1864-'65—religious services were maintained at the Legation by a Dutch Reformed clergyman, the Rev. Dr. Van Nest, well known later as chaplain of the "Union" congregation at Florence. There is no record of this on the books of the chapel, and Dr. Van Nest must have officiated in virtue of the appointment of the Minister Resident.

On the 21st of April, 1865, however, "the Vestry of Grace Church," which seems to have come to life again under the influence of Bishop Kip, of California, held a special meeting at the rooms of the American Legation, at which Bishop Kip was, "by invitation, present." At this meeting it was, among other things, "resolved that arrangements be made to recommence the services of the church on or about the 1st of November next;" and

"that the Rev. Theodore B. Lyman, D. D., is hereby elected rector of the church, and that the secretary notify him of the appointment."

Dr. Lyman accepted the charge, and in the following November the services of the church were resumed under him, in the apartments of the Minister in the Palazzo Salviati, on the Corso. Here, in a large room fitted up chapel-wise, and reserved exclusively for the use of the congregation, services were kept up without interruption throughout the season of 1865-'66.

The following autumn, however, the owner of the Palazzo Salviati refused to renew the lease of his apartments to the Minister unless the chapel services were discontinued, and the step was boldly taken of withdrawing from the roof of the Legation, and of renting a large apartment in the Vicolo d' Alberti, No. 12, exclusively for the chapel service. Services were held there throughout the season of 1866-'67. There was no molestation on the part of the Government, which assumed to have no official knowledge of the fact, although its police were on special duty every Sunday regulating the order of the carriages in the narrow street. But late in the following spring Dr. Lyman received notice from the authorities that he would not be permitted to continue the services for another winter in the place then occupied, and that he must either return under the roof of the Legation, or remove outside the walls to the building adjacent to the English Chapel, the very same one

that Dr. Butler had been prevented from occupying only three years before. About the same time, a plan which had been maturing during the winter for the building of a chapel in the gardens of Serny's Hotel, in the Piazza di Spagna, came to an end by reason of the suspension by our Government of its Legation at Rome; and Dr. Lyman, anxious to place the church upon a permanent basis, took the lease of the building referred to without the Porta del Popolo, for a term of four years, on his own responsibility, and at once gave directions for fitting it up as a permanent chapel, which was admirably done during the summer, under the personal supervision of Mr. J. C. Hooker. I append here the report of the committee charged with the making of all requisite arrangements for the continuance of the services that year :

"The services of our church had been for several years held in the residence of the American Minister at Rome; but when the season of 1866-'67 opened he was unable to offer any room in his apartment as during preceding years, and it became necessary to seek elsewhere for the proper accommodation. Large rooms were obtained in the Vicolo d' Aliberti, No. 12; but the numbers who on each Sunday were unable to procure seats showed that some larger and more commodious place must be obtained. After much examination it was decided that a large building to be erected in the garden of Serny's Hotel, Piazza di Spagna, would furnish every requirement of size, easy access, and unobtrusiveness.

"The Papal Government had toward the end of the season declared that no Protestant religious services could be allowed within the walls of the city except those held in the residence of an ambassador or minister, and had in consequence closed the two Scotch churches which had been allowed for some months to hold their services "within the walls." It was found that our Minister would agree to occupy two rooms in the proposed building as "Rooms of the United States Legation," and by that means it was thought that we would be left undisturbed by the Roman Government.

"Toward the end of April, 1867, however, General King, the then American Minister, in consequence of the withdrawal of the appropriation for the Legation at Rome, suddenly determined to return home; and, deprived thereby of the protection of the Legation, the proposed plan of building in Serny's Gardens had to be abandoned, and other arrangements made for a place of worship for the following year.

"It had been intimated by the Pontifical Government that no objection would be made if the American Church would take a room outside the walls, and an unofficial pledge was given that, if the former English Church room was taken, it would be left in undisturbed possession of it.

"The building referred to was in a most filthy and dilapidated condition, requiring very large expenditure to render it fit for the celebration of Divine worship. The proprietor refused to make the slightest repairs, and would not lower the large demand he made for rent.

"It was under these circumstances that at a meeting of the vestry held April 28, 1867, Dr. Lyman asked for its consent to the securing of the room, and most generously offered to guarantee himself *all* the expenditure for repairs and for the

lease of the building for *four years*. A lease of the room was consequently taken for four years, with the privilege of continuing it for five years longer, in the name of Mr. J. C. Hooker, he being guaranteed by Dr. Lyman at the rate of six hundred scudi (Roman dollars) per annum, and the necessary repairs and alterations were begun under the direction of Mr. Hooker, who, remaining in Rome all summer, was better able to oversee and direct the work than the vestry, whose members seldom remain in Rome during the hot months.

"Months of labor were required to make the necessary alterations and repairs, and under the watchful and skillful direction of Mr. Hooker they have resulted in procuring for us the present commodious chapel. To those who had seen the wretched and disgusting condition of the building, and knew how many alterations were necessary to adapt it again to public worship, the cost of repairs will not seem extravagant, and it is in large measure owing to the constant supervision of Mr. Hooker that they were kept so low. They amount, including cost of carpet, furniture, and interest, to 18,840 Roman lire."

A special subscription was at once started, and the whole of the amount raised during the winter, and the vestry returned a vote of thanks to Dr. Lyman, as well they might, for the responsibility he had assumed in their behalf. Without this decided measure on his part, the chapel would probably have come to an end with the withdrawal of the American Minister in that summer. It was the summer in which Garibaldi made his last attempt upon Rome, and would unquestionably have taken it had it not been for the return of the

French troops. Before, however, the battle of Montana crushed out all hope of liberty for Rome through this movement, the Papal Government had been made to feel that the sympathy of the Roman people was overwhelmingly against it. One of the superior *cameriere* of the Pope told me during the following winter that they felt that they were walking over volcanic soil, from which at any moment the flames of popular wrath might burst forth and consume them. So, though the French bayonets had brought present protection to the Papal throne, they had not been able to bring any sense of security, and at the Vatican the authorities were not in a state of mind in which we could have counted on meeting with any toleration within the walls, deprived as the chapel now was of even the show of protection under the flag of a Legation.

Until, too, the chapel was made independent of the Legation, it could not have any real existence as a congregation, or give any certain promise of its continuance. In spite of our formal organization, the chapel existed heretofore at the will of the Minister Resident, and practically the clergy in charge were appointed by him. But from this date the congregation became a real and permanent organization, and the vestry an actual power, clothed with all the authority and responsibilities that such bodies carry in the Church at home.

In the temporary absence of Dr. Lyman in America, services were opened in the new chapel in the autumn

of 1867 by Bishop Talbot, of Indiana. It was my privilege to succeed him in his temporary charge, and continue the services until the return of Dr. Lyman in February following. Being then a deacon, traveling on account of health, it was my first ministration, and so it happened that in that chapel without the walls of Rome I preached my first sermon, little thinking at the time what labors awaited me there. In this chapel our Church services were regularly held for nine years, from that time on, until the 24th of March last, when we left it reluctantly—as now endeared by many hallowed associations—to take possession of our new church “within the walls.”

It will not be necessary to describe this chapel, known to most of my readers. The situation was inconvenient, and the neighborhood very objectionable; but inside it was comfortable, and even attractive. There were, however, two serious objections to it: one, the very trying stairway, an inclined plane, up which in former days, when the room was a granary, mules carried their loads of corn and wheat; the other, the lowness of the ceiling, which was not sufficient for a perfect ventilation when the chapel was full. For the room was large, with over five hundred sittings, and, under the popular ministrations of Dr. Lyman, it was well filled during the season.

Dr. Lyman continued in charge as rector until the summer of 1869, when he felt obliged to return to the

United States. The vestry empowered him, together with the Right Rev. William Bacon Stevens, Bishop of Pennsylvania, then in charge of our churches in foreign lands, to fill the post. On their nomination, I went out to Rome in the autumn of 1869, and on my arrival Dr. Lyman's resignation was sent in to the vestry and accepted, and my election as rector followed at the same meeting.

The winter in which I took charge was a celebrated one in Rome, and a fatal one for the Papal Government. It was the year of the Vatican Council, the "Great Exposition" of the strength and the weakness of the Roman Church. Outwardly, the display of widespread and disciplined power was profoundly impressive, and every effort was made to overpower, by its manifestation, the minds of both the members of the Council and the world looking on. Nothing could exceed the dramatic magnificence of the functions of that winter. No earthly sovereign in all history ever enjoyed the flattery of so universal a triumph as that which greeted Pius IX., when on the 8th of December, 1869, as he moved up the nave of St. Peter's, amid the waving helmets and flashing swords of his guards, all eyes in that world-gathered multitude turned to him, and knees bowed to him, and in his presence even the Host itself was neglected or forgotten; or, when later in the day, throned in the Council-Chamber higher than the Word of God, more than eight hundred satraps from every part

of the known world kissed his foot with the oath to obey him, as their only lord, the Pope of the Holy Roman See. And that oath, whatever interpretation may be put upon it by Roman archbishops here in America, means in the Vatican the full repudiation of any absolute loyalty elsewhere.

But, over against this overwhelming manifestation of outward power and glory, there were signs that, to a close observer, betrayed the hollowness within. First, that all this apparent power was not real enough to control the people, who came directly under the Papal rule itself. The Roman men, as a rule, sneered at the acts of the Vatican Council, and hated intensely the government of even their present kind-mannered Pope; then, as the winter wore on and the ends of the Jesuit managers of the Council became more apparent, and their policy more relentless, the opposition, which included the ablest and most enlightened bishops in the Council, became open in their discontent, and the Council was divided into two camps, outspoken in their suspicion of and hostility toward one another. I have never heard any severer or more telling arraignment made of the trickery, corruption, and violence, which characterized the later workings of the Vatican Council than I heard in Rome, in the spring of 1870, from the lips of two of the ablest and best archbishops who were at the time sitting as members of the Council. But beyond even these signs, as the Council drew to its close, in the proc-

lamation of the fatal dogma of the Papal Infallibility—or divinity, as it was preached in Rome—the decision that henceforth truth had no weight in the Roman Church, and liberty no place there, was proof enough that the whole splendid apparition of the Papal system had no foundation deeper or firmer than the sands of human policy and material power, and must pass away with the dark ages it had served. The observation of the Vatican Council, and of Rome during its sessions, took away from me forever all fear of the Papacy as a power ever able again to master or rule the world, while at the same time it gave me a juster perception of its enormous power and resources, and of the struggle which it will yet make for the mastery of the world. In the doubt and despair of reactionary days, individuals, and perhaps nations, will submit blindly to its delusive yoke, but mankind, set free by Christ Himself from this superstition, as of old from the chains of heathendom, never will.

During that winter the clerical element pervaded all society, and great efforts were made to celebrate the year by conversions from the foreigners in Rome. All the monsignori celebrated in this kind of service were in Rome. Special courses of sermons were preached for this purpose by Archbishop Manning, Monsignor Capel, Father Hecker, and others; Roman princes were enlisted in the service to make an impression on unmarried ladies, cardinals to flatter the vanity of widows, and the

laity assisted in the way of bringing the proper parties together at dinners and receptions. Rumors of many converts were circulated in the air. I took great pains to find out how many Americans were actually received into the Roman Church that winter. I was in a position to hear, I think, of every case, for they were always loudly trumpeted ; and some of the most popular "Fathers" were honoring me at the time with sincere efforts for my conversion. I never could get the names of more than four American submissions to the Pope that winter —this from all denominations, or of people who had no belief—and of these four two had come to Rome prepared for and pledged to the step. There was a larger number than this confirmed that winter in our little chapel, of people who had not belonged to our Church before. Further, since I am on this point, I may add that in the six years that have passed since the declaration of the Papal Infallibility, as far as I know, but *two* Americans have submitted to the Roman Church *in Rome*. I have heard that there had been one or two cases among those women who have married Romans ; but, if so, it has been done secretly, nor do they acknowledge it openly. The fact is, Rome is the last place in the world for any earnest person to become a Roman Catholic in. Illustrations of gross superstition and practical idolatry are much too frequent there. The exhibition in this line made at the church of the Ara Cœli, the municipal church of Rome, when the benediction is given with the

Bambino on the Feast of Epiphany, is generally a sufficient antidote to the most persuasive argument that can be made for the Roman claims. The fact also remains unanswerable, that here is a people over whom the Roman Church has had full control—body, soul, and spirit—for over a thousand years, and for whose condition to-day the Roman Church is unqualifiedly responsible; and, when American eyes look upon that condition, they do not find it satisfactory, either socially, or politically, or religiously. What can the Roman Church—which boasts herself of changing not—hold out in the way of a future to any nation which will submit to the Papal yoke, other than the state to which she has reduced the Roman people? *They* must be accepted as the model sample of her work in forming and training a people. The infidelity of Italy—and it is wide-spread and deep-rooted—was the fruit of the Papal, not of the present Government. There has been a great and persistent exaggeration, in late years, of the growth of the Roman Church by individual conversions. The fact is that, in this country, Romanism gains comparatively few in this way; certainly not so many as she loses, but her clergy do not like to own it. I remember, however, during the winter of the Council, hearing a discussion on this point in Rome, in a Roman Catholic circle, and one of their prominent bishops from America made the statement that, if they had held in this country the great element that belonged to them by immigration, and

had made, as well, their proportionate gain upon the native population, they would have counted in the United States double the numbers they do now. I asked to what this great loss was to be attributed. He said, "*The common schools.*"

On September 20, 1870—a date which to future Romans bids fair to stand after that of "the city founded" only—the common schools, and the Bible, and freedom of conscience, came into the Eternal City, with the more modern Italian enemies of the Papacy, through the breach near the Porta Pia—a gate whose name acquired an intenser meaning to many from the fact. But before passing to the events which crowded upon us by the liberation of Rome, a few remarks on our relations to the government which then came to an end there will not be out of place.

The laws of the Papal Government prohibited all worship other than its own within the Papal territory; but expediency has always overridden law in the history of the Roman Church. *Non possumus* at the Vatican means very often simply "We can't afford it." So, from time immemorial, the Jewish worship was tolerated within the Ghetto, in the very heart of Rome. The Jews would have it, and the Papacy could not afford to drive out the Jews. Next, Protestant worship had to be tolerated at the legations of the Protestant nations represented in Rome. But the English Government maintained no ambassador or minister at Rome. An

agent of the Foreign Office—a sort of unofficially accredited minister—looked after British interests in Rome. An English chapel, therefore, became a matter of expedient necessity, for the English-speaking visitors brought much money to Rome, and the spiritual interests of the city could not be allowed to stand in the way of its material needs. It has always been understood in the Roman Curia that there can be—must be—no real conflict between money and religion. So, from the year 1818, an English chapel was tolerated in Rome without the show of protection from a legation; but it was put without the Porta del Popolo, and prohibited from showing any external sign of its character. So Scotch and American services were at a later date permitted at first within the city, and later still at the same point without the gates; but all under the same condition of nominal *incognito*. It was really at a most public point of the city, the entrance to the grounds of the Borghese Villa, the fashionable Sunday drive and promenade of Rome. The carriages of the three congregations often blocked the street and gateway. The police were always on hand to keep the crowd of carriages and their drivers in order, and, being specially paid on our part, were very attentive and efficient. Government agents maintained a constant surveillance over the services, to prevent Roman Catholics from attending, and to report on the character of the preaching—and yet the people of Rome and the Papal Govern-

ment were supposed to be ignorant of the presence of our worship in Rome ! The room last occupied by us was taken on the recommendation of Cardinal Antonelli. It was rented from a friend of his, one of the gentlemen who bore the papal chair in St. Peter's on state occasions ; but his Eminence guarded himself at the time by remarking, with a dry but not unkindly smile, " You know, if I were *officially* informed of the fact of Protestant services being held here, it would be my duty to prohibit them altogether." Things were in this state when I was in Rome in temporary charge in 1867, and again in 1869 ; and I wish here to acknowledge the general courtesy of the Papal Government toward us as far as my personal experience goes. It was never broken by any act of petty annoyance during that time, although these winters were the excited ones of the last Garibaldian insurrection and of the Vatican Council.

It is to be remarked here that the distinction that was made of " without the gates " had its ground in no real foundation of either civil right or ecclesiastical order. The Papal rule and law covered the ground outside the gates as truly as that within, and the diocese of the Bishop of Rome was not bounded by the line of the walls, built by a heathen emperor. There was as much intrusion upon the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome in our position without the Porta del Popolo as there is in our present one on the Via Nazionale, within the city. Our exclusion without the gate was a matter

of sentiment chiefly, and had no real reason in it, except that of an intended insult, and of being a means of fostering among the people and keeping up an association of contempt with our worship. I mention this expressly, as I have been amused to find, among clergy in England chiefly, but in one instance in this country, an ignorant idea that our late act of removing our worship within the walls of Rome in some way involved an intrusion upon the territorial rights of the Bishopric of Rome, which had not existed before. Indeed, a Roman Catholic archbishop—since made a cardinal—shortly after the laying of our corner-stone, spoke of the matter in this way in my hearing, but, on being asked to explain clearly how any real difference in our position toward the Roman See could arise from our change of locality, acknowledged that there was none, and that the inviolability of the city proper could be held a matter of sentiment only. For my own part, I have not the least feeling of doubtfulness upon this question of intrusion, but my conviction of the rightfulness of our position at Rome rests upon somewhat different and I think surer grounds. I hold that the Bishop of Rome has fallen into such fatal heresy, has been so manifestly false to the Apostolic trust committed to him, as to have wholly forfeited those ecclesiastical rights which would otherwise have attached to his See; and that it is the right of the Bishops of any neighboring Church to send truly Catholic teachers into that See, or even to reëstablish

the Catholic Episcopate there in its purity and integrity. The using or not using of this right is simply a question of expediency. It may become a duty at any time. For it is always to be remembered that the right of a people to hear the Word of God, and to have the sacraments as Christ gave them, is something far higher than any Episcopal right of territorial jurisdiction, however acquired. The cry of the famishing in the ears of the Lord of Hosts will be a sufficient justification for extraordinary means of relief.

II.

FIRST STEPS TOWARD BUILDING A CHURCH.

I HAD offered myself for service in the American Ambulance during the Franco-German War, and was waiting an answer in Switzerland, when the movement began in Italy which ended in the liberation of Rome from the Papal yoke. I returned to Rome in the autumn of 1870 to find it occupied by Italian troops under the general command of the hereditary Prince Humbert, who, as lieutenant-general commanding the province, occupied the palace of the Quirinal, and exercised a provisional government, until the vote of annexation, by which the people of Rome joined themselves to the kingdom of Italy, had been taken, and their request accepted by the national Congress. The vote for annexation had already been given with an overwhelming majority in its favor, and, although the formal steps necessary for the admission of the Roman province into the Italian nation were not yet completed, the whole people felt themselves to be already a part of Italy, and free to act under the Italian Constitution and laws. As these provide for

the fullest freedom in the matter of religious belief and worship, the vestry of our congregation in Rome was unanimous in the feeling that our worship ought to be moved at once to a more convenient position within the city, and steps be taken to secure, by building or otherwise, a church, in which it might be permanently held.

Before proceeding in this latter affair, however, it seemed right to learn from the authorities of the Italian Government whether such action on our part, however fully permitted by the law, would be regarded as in any way inexpedient at that particular moment. In every quarter I was received with great courtesy, and particularly by H. R. H. Prince Humbert, who, although professing himself a Catholic, took his stand, fully and squarely, on the principle of religious toleration embodied in the Italian Constitution, and added most emphatically that the Government of Italy would protect us, and all others, in the fullest exercise of all the liberty promised by their laws—a promise, I may say here, which has been most faithfully fulfilled.

Under these circumstances the vestry did not hesitate, at its first meeting under the new order of things, to pass resolutions looking toward the immediate removal of our services within the city, and the fitting up, or the building, of a permanent church. After careful consideration by a committee specially appointed for this purpose, it was unanimously decided that the per-

manent church ought to be a new building. The decision of the vestry having been announced in the congregation, an immediate response came in, in the shape of a large subscription from Mrs. E. A. Stevens, of Hoboken, N. J., to whom belongs the honor of having begun the work in this way. Indeed, the unexpected help thus willingly given was the thing which strengthened and decided me, finally, to proceed at once with the difficult task before us. From the beginning we recognized, at Rome, its magnitude and its responsibility. The building we were to do involved much more than the convenience and honor of our particular congregation. It represented the Church at large, both to Roman Catholic and to Protestant Europe, as a body, on the one hand, reformed from the pagan corruptions of the Papacy; on the other, freed from all state establishment, and political control in things spiritual. It was to be, necessarily, in the words of the Bishop of Gibraltar, "a city set upon a hill, and scanned by no very friendly eyes." It was much better that it should not be begun at all, than that, having been begun, it should fail or be carried out unworthily. The vestry felt, therefore, that it must ask for a sum "not less than \$100,000," to carry out this work. Much interest was taken in the matter by the Americans in Rome, and the winter's collections amounted to about \$6,000 in money, and a gift of pictures and statuary, to be sold for the benefit of the church, to which the following artists in Rome contrib-

uted : D. Maitland Armstrong, C. C. Coleman, C. Coleman, Charles Temple Dix, William Graham, William H. Haseltine, H. Haseltine, G. Innes, J. O'B. Inman, W. H. Rinehart, George Simmonds, Prince George von Solms, Luther Terry, Mr. Tilton, E. Vedder, F. C. Welsch, Abby O. Williams, Mary E. Williams, and George H. Yewell.

Encouraged by these results, at the request of the vestry, I returned to the United States in the early summer of 1871, and appealed to the Church at large for aid in carrying out the work for the Church, which seemed to have been laid upon us in our sphere of duty. I give here, in full, the first circular issued in this behalf, which was drawn up hastily after consulting those of the bishops and prominent laity of the Church that I could most easily reach:

TO THE FRIENDS OF THE AMERICAN CHAPEL,
ROME.

At a meeting of the Vestry of the AMERICAN CHAPEL Rome, Italy, held November 2, 1870, it was resolved—

I. In view of the late political changes in Italy, which have opened the city of Rome for free worship to all Christians—that it is expedient that the American Church be moved within the city gates at the earliest day practicable.

II. That a committee of three members of the Vestry be appointed at once to take into full consideration the whole question of how best to provide for future services within the city, whether by securing and fitting up some suitable building, or by erecting a new church of our own.

At subsequent meetings of the Vestry, held in February and April, it was resolved:

III. To undertake the building of a new church upon ground of our own, within the walls of Rome, for the permanent worship of the American congregation.

IV. To appeal to the congregation and to the friends of the chapel at home, for a sum not less than \$100,000, for this object.

V. That the Rector be requested to visit the United States during the coming summer and make a special appeal for help in this undertaking, in which the whole Church has an interest.

ROBERT J. NEVIN,	} <i>Rector.</i>
WM. H. HERRIMAN,	
D. MAITLAND ARMSTRONG,	} <i>Wardens.</i>
WM. STANLEY HASELTINE,	
DR. HENRY PARMLY,	} <i>Vestrymen.</i>
JOHN V. BEAM, JR.,	
DR. F. W. PATTERSON,	
F. CROWNINSHIELD,	

LANCASTER, PENNSYLVANIA, July 4, 1871.

In accordance with the action set forth in the foregoing resolutions, I have returned to America, and now make an earnest appeal, on behalf of our new undertaking, to the friends of our chapel throughout the country, and to all persons interested in the growth of religious liberty in Italy; for, whatever may be its future political relations, Rome must always be the controlling moral capital of Italy.

In asking help for the good work we have begun there, at a time like the present, it is necessary that I should make some statement of its need, and of the facts and reasons which determined our action into the shape that it has taken:

1. As to the present expediency of our coming within the city.

Our present place of worship, an old granary, outside the Porta del Popolo, is extremely inconvenient of access on foot, on account of the narrowness of the always-crowded gate, and the filth of the street leading to it, which is used as a hog-market.

Its distance, too, is a daily-increasing objection. The foreign population has, for some years, been steadily withdrawing itself from the quarter Del Popolo toward the higher and healthier situations, in the direction of the railway-station. And there now is beginning to spring up, as it were by magic, beside the ruins of old Rome, a new city which will soon become the favorite residence of all foreigners. The present chapel is altogether too distant from this quarter to meet its needs. But even were there no sufficient material reasons for our occupying now a more convenient situation within the city, the respect due to our faith and national name requires that we should remove from ourselves the reproach of being held without the gates, as an unclean thing, "with the swine," as the Papal monsignori were delighted to describe it.

2. As to the expediency of building a new edifice, rather than of hiring, or even buying, some existing building.

It was felt primarily that the moral effect would be much better upon our own congregation, and upon the liberal Catholic party, which still exists within the Roman Church in Italy, and which is casting about earnestly, but darkly, for some sound principle of reform from the Papal corruptions, which they feel have wellnigh crushed out Christianity from their nation.

To a people like the Italians—all eye and ear—the very

stones, the spire and chimes, of a distinctive church-building, will teach more of the strength and reality of our Christianity than any amount of writings that might be distributed among them; and will be, as well, a constant visible witness to them that religious liberty, and the rights of the human conscience, have at last found a home in the city of the Popes and the Cæsars. For this very reason, the Italian Government welcomes our project with undisguised satisfaction, and guarantees us the fullest protection in our work that the state can afford. And in this they but fall in with the sentiment of the Roman people, who are more than contented to see anything done that will attract to their city, or prolong the stay there of, the Americans, who are notoriously their most profitable visitors. Apart, however, from this motive of self-interest, there is none of the hostility felt in Rome to the establishment of an American church that has been shown against certain native forms of worship—Waldensian and Baptist—that have lately been introduced there. And, even among that portion of the office-holding priests who still adhere to the fond traditions of the Vatican, as to the divine right of Popes over *all* things, visible and invisible, there is growing up a sentiment of great toleration toward the foreign services in Rome, which they have come to accept as one of the hard necessities of the (to their minds) sadly-disjoined times.

Should it yet be objected that it would be cheaper, and answer every purpose for us, to occupy some hired room, or secure some abandoned Roman church, I reply, unhesitatingly, that it would not be cheaper in the end; and that every clergyman knows perfectly that it will not answer as well, spiritually, or in any other way, to hold a congregation in a hired room, as in his own church.

The congregation for which I plead is a large one, and is steadily increasing every year. It is one, too, that must always exercise a wide influence for good or evil to the Church. Already it has an average attendance, during the winter season, of from four to five hundred; and I would remind my brethren of the clergy that there is scarcely one of their congregations that does not every year have some of its members worshiping in our upper room at Rome. The money that we ask is, after all, only what is now the most ordinary outlay every year for far less important congregations at home.

As to our occupying a disused Roman church, it is almost an impossibility. The parish churches in Rome have not been, and will not be confiscated by the Government, whatever may be the case with the monastic property. It will be many years before they come naturally into the market, and then we could never hope to get one in a better quarter, where their present congregations will always be able to sustain them. Beyond this, the first cost would be heavy; the fitting up would be very expensive, and not one in fifty could ever be made comfortable or healthful for our mode of worship.

Moreover, for us to occupy a Roman church would excite much ill-feeling against us among the superstitious people, and greatly impair our influence with the liberal Catholics.

Lastly, comes up the question as to the prudence of investing money, at present, in building in a city which it is said may at any time revert to the Papal power.

Those who live there, and have studied the temper of the Italian people in the crisis through which they are passing, have no fear of such a misfortune. Certainly, this at least is an impossibility, that the temporal power of the Pope should ever be reestablished in Rome under the same conditions of abso-

lutism with which it oppressed mankind and outraged civilization up to October of last year. The age will not bear it. The French War, nay, our own war, must be undone first, and the principles of liberty and unity which they have established blotted out of the world's thinking. In Italy, to-day, the feeling of nationality is burning as intensely as it ever did with us, during the heat of our late war, and as a nation they are ready now to fight to their last lira, and their last man, for their newly-acquired unity.

Should, however, through any overpowering combination of foreign nations, the temporal power of the Papacy ever be reestablished in Rome under a modified form, our rights in any property that we might have acquired by fair purchase under a *de facto* government, provided we keep ourselves clear of all complication with confiscated property, would have to be respected, or full indemnity assured us.

All of these points came up for full and careful thought in the deliberations of the Vestry, and the decisions reached were in every case unanimous. I may mention here, in proof of the confidence felt by the American residents in our undertaking, that besides money subscriptions I have received contributions in Rome, of original works of art, from over twenty artists. Indeed, every American painter in Rome—not a Roman Catholic—has in this way contributed of his own labor toward our undertaking. These works will be put on exhibition in New York and Philadelphia, and sold in the fall for the benefit of the *New American Church, Rome*.

We intend to build a stone church, distinctively Gothic in style, to seat not less than seven hundred, and of such proportions and workmanship as shall be in some measure worthy to represent, in the Old World's capital, our faith and our nation.

We wish also to secure ground enough adjoining the church to put up at a future day a building which shall contain an apartment for the clergyman; rooms for an Infants' Nursery, already in successful operation in a hired apartment, and also two or three rooms to which single travelers may be removed in case of sickness, from the neglect and extortion of the hotels. The estimate of the Vestry is designed to cover all these points; but now we want \$70,000 for church lot and building.

It is my hope to return to my field of work in November, with the glad assurance that we can go forward immediately with our work; to lay the corner-stone of our new church by Christmas of this year, and, by the blessing of God, to open the same for regular service by Easter-day, 1873.

Feeling that our work is of no merely local account, but one that touches weighty general interests, that it has already established ties for itself in many an American home, and will be hereafter a blessing to faithful people from every diocese in our wide land, I appeal with confidence to my Christian fellow-countrymen for that generous assistance in carrying it out which its practical usefulness has a right to claim, and which the national character for liberality warrants me in asking.

ROBERT J. NEVIN,

Rector of Grace Church, Rome.

(Address: No. 1 East Thirtieth Street, New York City.)

All subscriptions to be forwarded to care of

Messrs. BROWN BROS., Bankers,

Wall Street, New York.

EPISCOPAL ROOMS, PHILADELPHIA, June 30, 1871.

The plan set forth in the appeal of the Rev. ROBERT J. NEVIN, Rector of Grace Church, Rome, Italy, meets my full approbation.

The providence of God has so markedly opened to us a door of entrance into that city, that we should be recreant to our duty did we not embrace the opportunity of carrying out to completion the work which the Vestry has so wisely inaugurated.

We need a church in Rome, because of the hundreds and thousands of our countrymen who annually resort thither.

We need a church in Rome, as the type and representative of our pure branch of the one Holy and Apostolic Church.

We need a church there, as the memorial and exponent of that freedom of conscience and religious liberty which is the priceless privilege guaranteed to us by our American institutions.

Every motive should stir us up to *immediate action*; and I trust that a prompt and liberal response will enable the zealous and intelligent Rector to return laden with the gifts of love and faith, by which the long-desired church shall be erected, and consecrated to the worship of Almighty God, according to the hallowed Liturgy of our Book of Common Prayer.

W.M. BACON STEVENS,

Bishop of the Diocese of Pennsylvania, and Bishop in charge of the Churches in Europe, in union with the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

I most heartily concur in the above recommendation and appeal.

B. B. SMITH,

Bishop of Kentucky, and Presiding Bishop.

I cordially concur in the approval of the Rev. Mr. Nevin's undertaking, as expressed by the Bishop of Pennsylvania.

HORATIO POTTER,

NEW YORK, July 15, 1871.

Bishop of New York.

I rejoice in this movement, and commend it heartily.

G. T. BEDELL,

Assistant Bishop of Diocese of Ohio.

The following Bishops have also authorized the use of their names in cordial indorsement of the work and plan above set forth :

WILLIAM R. WHITTINGHAM,
Bishop of Maryland.

MANTON EASTBURN,
Bishop of Massachusetts.

JOHN JOHNS,
Bishop of Virginia.

J. WILLIAMS,
Bishop of Connecticut.

H. B. WHIPPLE,
Bishop of Minnesota.

THOMAS M. CLARK,
Bishop of Rhode Island.

ARTHUR CLEVELAND COXE,
Bishop of Western New York.

WM. HY. ODENHEIMER,
Bishop of New Jersey.

A. N. LITTLEJOHN,
Bishop of Long Island.

JOHN B. KERFOOT,
Bishop of Pittsburg.

F. D. HUNTINGTON,
Bishop of Central New York.

WILLIAM CROSWELL DOANE,
Bishop of Albany.

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WILLIAM H. SCOTT,
ORLANDO MEADS,
Governor H. P. BALDWIN,
F. W. BRUNE,
Hon. J. V. L. PRUYN,
J. PIERPONT MORGAN.

From all sides the undertaking thus begun met a warm approval and encouragement. The Bishop of Delaware alone, of those applied to, declined to give his indorsement. I fondly imagined that with an indorsement so strong as the above, in a body like ours, the work was almost done. I had as yet had no experience in raising money for any Church work, and had not learned how inferior our organization is to that of most of the denominations about us for the purpose of raising money for any general work, nor had I the least suspicion of how narrowing our parish and diocesan system is to the sympathies of our clergy. It is a very easy thing for the lower, because somewhat selfish, love and care for the parish or diocese, to supplant the higher love for Christ's body, the Church.

Difficulties were at once raised in regard to the manner in which the property was to be held, and this nearly blocked all my efforts during that summer. It

was questioned whether the vestry of the church could hold property under the Italian laws, and then great objections were raised to the property being held at all by a body like the vestry at Rome, largely composed as it is of very transient elements. This matter had already been considered by the vestry itself at Rome, which had agreed to the plan proposed by me of placing the title to the property in a board of trustees, to be incorporated by special charter in America, that should hold the property in trust perpetually for the Church at large, but allow to the vestry as tenant the control of the current administration of the congregation. Such an arrangement, I had already ascertained, could be carried out under the Italian laws. But, when it came to putting this plan into practical shape at home, great difficulties were found in adjusting the precise relations of the vestry to this board of trustees, and to the ecclesiastical authorities of the Church. In order not to be stopped entirely in the work of raising money, I had appointed a general committee of prominent laymen in whose charge the funds raised by me were to be placed, and whose names were to be a guarantee to the givers that the title to the property should be lodged in safe hands. It was necessary, therefore, to consult this committee in regard to the appointment of the trustees and the provisions of the charter under which they were to hold the property. Party feeling was at the time running high in the Church, and it re-

quired much care and firmness to prevent our undertaking from passing, on one side or the other, under partisan control. A moment's reflection will, I think, satisfy every unprejudiced person that it is not only a matter of expediency but of right that all our foreign chapels should be held strictly free from party influences or character, and be made to represent as faithfully as possible in their teaching and services the general character and feeling of the Church. And yet I was made to feel very soon that, if I would only allow the congregation at Rome to pass distinctly under party control, the work of raising the money wanted would be made very easy indeed.

Another great difficulty that I soon felt was a very serious one, and arose from the loose nature of the ecclesiastical relations in which the foreign chapels stand to the Church at home. We do not come under the head of either foreign or domestic missions, although doing a good deal of the work of both. So, the missionary boards cannot be looked to for help or protection. We are accepted as parishes under the General Convention, but we are allowed no representation either directly or through any diocese; and, although subjected to all the restraints of Episcopal direction, we have no permanent bishop of our own to whom we can look for a father's counsel or advice.¹ Even with the best will in the

¹ Our foreign chapels are placed by the Canon of 1859 under the oversight of the Presiding Bishop, and, as he is generally too old or

world, the nature of the relation in which the bishop in charge stands to the work is such that he can do very little *officially* to help any foreign chapel in any emergency that may be upon it. Our foreign chapels have grown up of themselves, without help from the Church, and this very fact is in itself the best proof of the reality of their work and the necessity for them. These congregations were left to organize themselves, and, being organized and having applied severally to be received under the care of the General Convention, they have been received to the obligations of our constitution and laws, but to no rights in the Church. They have done a very real work for the Church, in bringing into her a considerable membership, and in preserving to the Church a still larger body of her straying children; and they have been self-supporting in this far, at least, that the money raised for them has never come from the Church as a body, or through any of her societies or agencies, but has been gathered by the personal labors of those who, at home or abroad, have interested themselves in the foreign fields.

infirm to exercise it personally, he is authorized to devolve the charge upon any other bishop of the American Church whom he may see fit to appoint, for a term which may not overpass the next ensuing meeting of the General Convention. This arrangement secures, it will be seen, a constant change in the bishops in charge of the foreign churches, and, as a natural result of this, that they can never be expected to have any thorough knowledge of the very difficult and varied field over which they are placed.

This want of any representation in the Church at home made itself very heavily felt, when it came to the work of raising funds for our proposed building, and made the creation of a home board of trustees seem to me more desirable than ever, for I hoped to find in them a body who would be active in keeping up a positive interest in our work at home. At the same time the then bishop in charge, the Right Rev. William Bacon Stevens, who had interested himself warmly in our undertaking from its beginning, was led, in the hope of supplying in a measure the same general want, to approve of the plan for creating a standing committee for the foreign churches who should serve as a permanent council of advice to the bishop in charge. This plan was carried into effect at the General Convention of 1871, it being provided that four members should be chosen by the General Convention, and one each by the vestries of the foreign chapels. Dr. Henry C. Potter, of Grace Church, New York, was elected to represent the church at Rome, and, I may say here, has been the chief instrument among our clergy at Rome in helping to place in its present beautiful sanctuary the worship which his father began in that city in 1859, in the secrecy of a private chamber.

The summer of 1871 was thus almost entirely consumed in arranging for the future tenure and constitution of our church, and I was able to raise only about \$11,000, before the great fire in Chicago effectually

stopped all giving to foreign charities. The beginning of this collection at home was made by the late John David Wolfe, Esq., who stepped into the vestry-room after I had preached on the subject one Sunday at All-Saints' Chapel, Newport, and promised me \$1,000 and his support in the work. Mr. Wolfe became the first chairman of the General Committee for raising funds, and was also one of the original trustees of the church. At his house were held all the first meetings of the General Committee ; and his death, while the work was yet in its beginnings, was a very great loss to us abroad, as it was to the whole Church at home. This board was created by the Legislature of the State of New York in the following spring, under the name of the "Trustees of St. Paul's American Protestant Episcopal Church, Rome." The original incorporators were:

Hon. HAMILTON FISH, New York.
JOHN DAVID WOLFE, "
HENRY CHAUNCEY, "
GEORGE KEMP, "
FREDERIC G. FOSTER, "
JOHN WELSH, Philadelphia.
Rev. R. J. NEVIN, Rome.

In the following year the original act was amended so as to bring it more closely into conformity with the constitution of the Church, and Messrs. J. Pierpont Morgan and Enoch R. Mudge were named trustees

in place of Mr. Wolfe, deceased, and Mr. Kemp, resigned.

While the title to the property is lodged in the hands of this board, the act recognizes the vestry, which shall be elected in accordance with the constitution or articles of organization of the congregation at Rome, as charged with "the immediate management and the control of the said St. Paul's Church, and the maintenance of the church edifice and other property thereof," subject always to an accountability to the trustees. The vestry enjoys all the rights and powers usual to a vestry at home, with the one limitation only, that the consent of the Board of Trustees shall be necessary to confirm its election of a rector.

Toward the end of that year (1871), and during the visitation of the Right Rev. Bishop Stevens, the name of the congregation was changed from "Grace Church" to "St. Paul's Church." The former name was utterly without meaning in Italian ears. The idea of grace in a Roman mind is hopelessly associated with the Madonna, and, had we attempted to carry over the original name of the chapel to the new church, it would have stood to the popular mind as the church of the "Madonna delle Grazie." The name St. Paul's has been most happy. Near by is the house of Pudens, where the apostle undoubtedly preached. His martyrdom at Rome no one ever has questioned. He was the great Apostle to the Gentiles, whose children we are. In his writings, above

all others of the sacred books, do we find most clearly set forth the great principles of faith, and liberty, and a pure conscience, for which our Church is protestant at Rome. Finally, by a singularly significant omission, there is no Roman church dedicated to St. Paul within the city walls.¹ There is no use trying to conceal it, St. Paul has not been for many, many centuries, in much favor at the Vatican. The Roman people were quick to note this, and the name "St. Paul's within the Walls" was at once taken up in contradistinction from the great Basilica, which has from time immemorial been known as "St. Paul's without the walls." I think it was Père Hyacinthe who remarked on the strangeness of this, that St. Paul should only after eighteen centuries have found his way back into Rome *via America*.

In the spring of 1872, after long endeavors and repeated disappointments, we were able to secure a singularly advantageous building-site on the Via Nazionale, at the corner of the Via Napoli. This part of the city was chosen as being the centre of those new quarters which, by reason of their superior healthfulness and freedom from the danger of inundation, must presently become the favorite residence of the foreign population of Rome. The lot has a frontage of 101 feet on the Via Nazionale, and on the Via Napoli of 182 feet.

¹ The Church of SS. Giovanni and Paolo, on the Cœlian, is not named after the apostles, but after two soldier-martyrs of later date.

The Via Nazionale is the widest, and, when finished, will be the handsomest street of Rome. Beginning at the Piazza of the Termini, immediately opposite to the Church of Sta. Maria degli Angeli, which Michael Angelo constructed out of the ruined walls of the Baths of Diocletian, it runs in a straight line, and by an easy grade, to the Piazza di Venezia at the end of the Corso. It becomes, thus, the connecting boulevard between old, or rather mediæval, and new Rome. The church is situated on it at one short block from the point where it crosses the Via Quattro Fontane. It is close to the Hôtel Quirinale, and not far from the Hôtel Costanzi, the two largest hotels in Rome. It was feared, when we began to build, that we were going too far out in the direction of the new quarters, but already the city has been built out far beyond the church, which, from the rapid movement of the foreign population into the new quarters, will, within a very short time, stand central to the congregation which worships in it.

The ground was bought from an Italian deputy named Calvo. He had it from the late Monsignore di Merode, the Pope's Secretary of War, who again bought it from the Barberini Nuns, a short time before the downfall of the Pope's temporal power. The nuns had held it, I believe, for a couple of centuries. The advance in its value from the time when Monsignore di Merode bought it from the nuns was just fifteen hundred per cent., which may serve as an index as to the

popular estimation of the two governments, the Papal and the Italian.

I returned that summer again to America and raised enough money to make the vestry feel safe in ordering a beginning to be made. Accordingly, on the 5th of November, 1872, I broke ground with my own hand for the foundations of the building, with heart-felt prayer to God that His blessing might be upon our work, and that it might always stand for the cause of light, and truth, and freedom, which is the cause of Christ.

As we carried down the large excavations necessary for the cellars and the foundation-walls, we discovered to our dismay that the loose soil—the accumulations of repeated overthrows, and centuries of decay—extended to a depth much beyond what we anticipated, and it was necessary to carry the foundations through this to rock or soil that had never been disturbed. This was found finally at depths ranging from thirty to fifty-one feet, but everywhere the foundation-walls were rested finally upon the virgin clay. Under the apse of the church, well-preserved walls, much blackened by fire, were found at a depth of forty feet and over. Among these ruins were picked up some copper coins of the date of Nero. We were able to get down the excavations at the northeast corner of the church in time to lay the foundation-stone on the 25th of January, 1873; but the whole winter and following summer were spent in getting foundations for the rest of the build-

ing, and in building walls which are lost to view under the soil. Indeed, at the apse, the walls beneath the ground are higher than those above. The expense involved in this was also very heavy, but there was no help for it. The church could not afford to build on any but the surest foundations in Rome.

III.

THE LAYING OF THE CORNER-STONE.

ON the Feast of the Conversion of St. Paul, January 25, 1873, it was my high privilege—acting for the Bishop in charge, the Rt. Rev. William Bacon Stevens—to lay the corner-stone of our church in Rome, the first, as I noted above, dedicated to St. Paul within the walls of the city where he ended his preaching and labors for Christ Jesus. Without further remark on the ceremony, I give the account furnished to the *Churchman* by a writer whose well-known initials will be at once recognized by all who have interested themselves in the work of the Church abroad ; the few remarks made by myself upon the occasion ; and the address of the Lord Bishop of Derry :

ROME, January 27, 1873.

Several of the Roman papers of yesterday or to-day give more or less detailed accounts of an event which must have awakened unwonted reflections in the mind of many a thoughtful Roman; the first stone has been freely, formally, and openly laid, of a church which is designed to rise toward heaven, a solemn witness, in this papal city, of a faith which is *Catholic* without being papal, and *Protestant* without ceasing to be Cath-

olic. If the completed church arrests the attention of Italians in any proportion to the effect of this laying of its corner-stone, the Festival of the Conversion of St. Paul, 1873, will be an epoch, not merely as a friend said to me, in the history of our Church, but in that of the Church of Italy as well.

Grace Church, Rome, was organized — as, perhaps, you know—in the month of November, 1859, as the result of a very modest initiative; and services were conducted for two successive seasons in the residence of the then American Minister Resident, Mr. John P. Stockton, to whose fostering interest it was very greatly indebted for its power to get its first footing. These services were interrupted by the breaking out of our civil war; as there was no American Minister in Rome for a year or more, and consequently no possibility of continuing them. But the organization perfected before secured the permanence of the church, and the vestry were ready to unite with the Rev. Dr. Butler, who came out in 1862, in reopening our chapel. Dr. Butler remained but one season, and there was another interruption for the winter of 1864. The following fall the Rev. Dr. Lyman was chosen rector, and took up the work in Rome for the following five years. To him is due the credit of putting Grace Church on a firmer basis than it had had before. Deprived, in 1867, of the protection of the Legation, which was then suppressed by Congress, Dr. Lyman secured a location just without the Porta del Popolo; had it fitted up in a most attractive, comfortable, and churchly manner, and there the congregation, partly resident and partly floating, of Grace Church have worshiped to the present time. In 1869 Dr. Lyman was succeeded in the rectorship by the Rev. Robert J. Nevin, whose privilege it has been to witness and to take advantage of the great change through which Rome passed, when

the troops of free Italy entered at the Porta Pia, and it became the Italian capital.

No time was now lost. At the first meeting of the vestry after this event—in November, 1870—it was at once resolved to build a church, and a handsome subscription was secured that winter toward it. “Honor to whom honor”—from that time to this, the unwearied exertions, the unflagging patience, tact, wisdom, and faith of our chaplain have carried the project forward, making headway against perplexities and obstacles here at Rome of which the Church knows little or nothing, and also against that general indifference at home of which the Church will be some day, if it is not now, heartily ashamed.

On Thursday last Mr. Nevin and I went up to see the spot. It had been necessary to dig down fully forty feet to lay the sub-foundations; and as we leaned over the boarding, and looked down to the depths below, and, when all was ready, dropped from our own hands, with an ejaculated invocation, the first stones of a solid base of concrete and Roman cement—stones which shall never again be seen while the church shall stand—I blessed God for those living stones which the great Builder of His Holy Church had laid far down out of sight, and never to be known by men, upon which to rear His spiritual temple, “all glorious within.” Twenty feet of concrete and cement were to be laid and leveled for the reception of the foundation-walls, and these were to be begun about as many feet yet below the surface.

The services on Saturday—St. Paul's Day—were begun by Morning Prayer and the Holy Communion at the chapel, at ten o'clock. The day was rainy; but about two o'clock the rain ceased for a while; indeed, the sun came out warm and dazzling

at one time, though the rain fell heavily once more when all was over.

At 2.15 o'clock the clergy assembled in the little building of the clerk of the works, while some two hundred persons, including many ladies, gathered around the excavations. The Hon. George P. Marsh, our Minister to Italy, was among the number, and several Italians, including some deputies in Parliament, and others of prominent social rank.

It was a pleasant feature of the occasion that not only had we an Irish bishop with us—the Rt. Rev. William Alexander, Bishop of Derry—but the English clergy also united with us heartily, indeed, even outnumbering those of our own Church. Besides the Bishop and his chaplain, the Rev. Geoffrey Lefroy, there were present the Rev. J. B. Grant, Chaplain of the English Church at Rome, and the Rev. A. L. Jukes, Assistant Chaplain; the Rev. T. T. Carter, of Clewer, and the Rev. Messrs. J. H. Clayton, C. W. Jones, S. B. Burtchael, C. Hole, and R. Ware. In addition to our rector, the Rev. Robert J. Nevin, the American Church was represented by the Rev. W. O. Lamson, the founder and first rector of our first church in Europe (Holy Trinity, in Paris), and thus the inaugurator of our Church work, once so undervalued, but now generally recognized as so important, of providing for the religious wants of our Church's absentees; and also by the Rev. W. C. Langdon, the Rev. Dr. S. Hollingsworth, and the Rev. Messrs. D. L. Schwartz, and J. B. Wetherill.

Moving from the robing-room, the committee of the English Church proceeded, followed by the vestry of St. Paul's, then by the clergy, English and American together, and lastly by the Lord Bishop of Derry, all, as we advanced, reciting antiphonally cxxii. and lxxxiv. Psalms, led by the Rev. Mr. Lamson.

Arrived upon the site, the Lord's Prayer and selected Collects were said by the Rev. Mr. Langdon, after which the Rev. Mr. Grant, the English chaplain, read the tenth and eleventh verses of the third chapter of the book of Ezra, and the Rev. Mr. Wetherill led in the antiphonal recitation of the cxxxvi. Psalm.

The Rev. Mr. Nevin, then advancing to the corner-stone, read a list of the articles to be deposited therein, which were placed in the leaden box one by one, as named. These were as follows: Holy Bible and Book of Common Prayer, both of American editions; Hymnal; Church Almanac for 1873; form of the service used on the occasion; design of the church to be erected; circulars connected with the work; list of subscriptions to date; list of trustees and vestry; American coins and currency; a copy of the *Churchman* and of the *Church Journal*, as well as of the Roman papers of the morning; and, finally, a brick taken from Independence Hall, Philadelphia. The rector also stated that the stone which would be inserted in the wall above the ground, to indicate where the corner-stone lay below, had been sent from his former parish at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, accompanied by a generous contribution toward the building fund. He then, while the workmen were soldering up the box, and securing it in the stone, made a brief statement of the history of the church, and of the circumstances under which they were then gathered together.

When all was ready, he took the trowel in his hand, saying, "Our help is in the name of the Lord," to which the other clergy and people responded, "Who hath made heaven and earth;" and all together, "Except the Lord build the house, their labor is but vain that build it." He then struck the stones three times, with the words: "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen. Acting as the delegate and

representative of the Rt. Rev. William Bacon Stevens, D. D., Bishop of Pennsylvania, and through him of the Presiding Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, I lay the corner-stone of an edifice to be here erected by the name of Saint Paul's Church, Rome, to be devoted," etc., according to the usual form; and as the stone was lowered down to its resting-place, the clergy and people sang, with full voice, the hymn "Before Jehovah's awful throne."

Upon the conclusion of the hymn the Lord Bishop of Derry advanced and addressed the assembly in an earnest and most appropriate manner, dwelling upon the singular importance and significance of the occasion, and congratulating the American Church upon being the first to lay the foundation of a temple of the reformed Faith in this ancient city. The bishop then read the closing Collects and pronounced the benediction, and the clergy returned to their provisional robing-room, clergy and laity at once gathering round the rector to offer him their warm congratulations.

In these congratulations the whole Church owes it to herself heartily to unite. The Church has a representative here in Rome who is an honor to her, and who is doing a good and great work, whose value the future only can reveal.

Indeed, the general religious tone of English-speaking religious circles here, and the manner in which our peoples and our communions are presented to the observing world at Rome, is a ground for devout thanksgiving. An American friend—not an Episcopalian—who has lately come here to reside, spoke to me to-day of what he felt to be the high religious tone of the foreign Churches here. The English, American, and Scotch chaplains are all spoken of by others than their own flocks with

deep respect; the religious influence of each and all is real; there is no contention either between them or within their respective congregations, and "the quiet, earnest, religious character of the English-speaking colony at Rome," said my friend, "and our Sunday here, remind me more of the Lord's-day of a New England town, than anything I have seen in Europe." For my own part, I frankly say that such is very much my own impression from the little I have had the opportunity of seeing; and the religious rest which I enjoy here—here in the very centre of much that has anything but "made for peace" to the past of Christendom—has been very precious to me. And when I see what a position our dear Church holds in this city of Rome, I cannot, as a Churchman and as a clergyman, withhold the sincere and earnest tribute of my admiration and gratitude to him to whom, under God, all this is due.

Let the Church come up then, at once and generously, to help in the building of St. Paul's Church. The contract has been executed that will secure its completion about the time of our next General Convention. It is estimated to cost, including the tower, but exclusive of rectory, organ, bells, etc., \$60,000, of which something more than one-half has already been obtained. To contribute toward the erection of such a church is a holy privilege, and the Church will, before long, realize that it is so; and when the last stone is set and paid for, and the next General Convention makes provision for its consecration, many will wish that they could but have had the privilege of uniting in the erection of a temple which will not only be a blessing to the children of our Church who shall hereafter wander here, but which rises to mark the coming of a new era in the history of the Church of Christ.

W. C. L.

While the leaden box of deposits was being sealed up, the Rev. Mr. Nevin said :

It is not my purpose to make an address, though many thoughts crowd my mind for utterance at such a time, but I wish to put here on record some facts in the past history of our chapel, and make acknowledgment of things for which we have reason to feel thankful.

This congregation was organized, for permanent American worship in Rome, in the year 1859. The rector then was the Rev. William Chauncey Langdon, and it adds no little to the happy features of the day that he has been able to be present with us, and take part in this service.

In the year 1867 the services were moved without the walls, to the chapel still occupied beyond the Porta del Popolo. This under the rectorship of my immediate predecessor, the Rev. Theodore B. Lyman, D. D., to whose energy the congregation owes its permanent and independent establishment at the time when our Government felt itself obliged to withdraw its representative from the Papal court.

On the 2d day of November, 1870, almost immediately after the Italian forces had opened the way for constitutional government within this city, the vestry resolved "that it is expedient that the American Church be moved within the city gates at the earliest day practicable." And we began to raise funds at once. On the 12th of March last, nearly a year ago, we were able to buy this noble site, on which we are to-day permitted to lay our corner-stone, and on the 5th of November last we began actual work in making ready these foundations, the first stroke struck in manifestation of the newly-regained religious toleration in Rome.

We are building now, not in any spirit of petty triumph over a fallen order of things, nor of wanton aggression upon, or loud-mouthed controversy with, any form of Christian faith, but we are building first to meet the absolute religious needs of our own people, and to set forth worthily the reasonable worship that is dear to us at home, and not less that rightful liberty of conscience which is the first and most sacred of human rights, and without which no government, however wisely framed, can ever hope to stand.

I have a word to say in regard to the appeal I made to the congregation last Sunday morning, that the whole purchase of this land might be met by contributions made here in Rome, without touching for this purpose the moneys given in the United States for the building proper. The sum asked for was nearly 30,000 lire. I am happy to be able to say here that I have received in the past six days not only the sum asked, but nearly 10,000 lire more, and I wish to make my warmest acknowledgment to the generous friends who have given their help in this timely way, so that we can offer this land to-day to our Lord as His freehold, without shadow of obligation or incumbrance.¹ And in this connection I wish to recur to the gift of pictures and statuary made nearly two years since by artist friends of our Church in this city for the benefit of the building-fund. These works were taken to America for sale, but, on account of the great fires at Chicago and Boston, we have not yet been able to realize from them what we had

¹ This end was reached chiefly through the great liberality of the late Mrs. A. E. Schermerhorn, who, with her son, Mr. F. Augustus Schermerhorn, contributed the sum asked for, to make up the payment upon the ground.

hoped. Nevertheless, the contributions, given at the time they were, have been of the greatest help to us, and I wish now to assure the generous givers that, without the encouragement of this practical pledge of interest upon the part of the residents here in Rome, we should never have been able to push this work forward as successfully as it has gone.

One further acknowledgment I wish to make to-day. This block of freestone, which will be placed in this corner, at the floor-line, as the visible memorial of the deposits made in the foundation to-day, was cut from the native rock of the Keystone State, and sent out by true friends of our work for this use; and I make mention to-day with love and just pride of my old parish of the Nativity, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, and return our warm thanks to the rector and people of the same for this remembrance of theirs, and the substantial money-gift with which it was accompanied. May the association of those names with our beginning have its fair omen for our future! May this house indeed be made a "House of Bread" to many hungry, fainting souls, and its spirit be always one of peace and goodwill to all men!

Finally, my brethren, I must give utterance to the pleasure with which we welcome the large representation of both clergy and laity of the mother Church of England and of the Church of Ireland that is with us in this service to-day, and to the deep gratification we especially feel at the presence of the Right Rev. Father in God who is here to give his blessing upon us and our work. To him, and to our brethren of the clergy and laity, I return from the heart our acknowledgments and thanks for their interest and sympathy, speaking not only for the congregation of this Church of St. Paul, in Rome, but

also of the Bishop in charge for whom it is my high part to act to-day, and, I am sure, of the whole American Church.

Address of the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Derry (Ireland):

I have been asked to say a few words on a very memorable occasion, the laying of the first stone of the first church of the reformed Faith within the walls of the city which the admiration of ages has hailed as the Eternal City. It is an enterprise worthy of the young and vigorous people whose flag is always to be seen upon the foremost wave of the highest tide of human progress. We assemble to lay the foundation-stone of this Church of St. Paul upon the day which is marked in the Calendar of the Catholic Church as the Feast of the Conversion of St. Paul. It is as the great old Greek writer said, "one of the poems of which chance is the creator," or as we should more reverently own, it is a happy and providential coincidence which connects this church with St. Paul's day and name.

It is so, first, as regards Rome itself. For St. Paul is associated with Rome by no subtle and remote deduction from historical premises. In the present audience, in this city, which is as truly the home of History as Greece even was of Poetry, I cannot doubt that there are some of those Prophets of the past, "On whose spirits rest past things revealed like future." Such men have gazed into the darkness of antiquity, aided, as a great historian has said, "by the triple torch of the study of places, of monuments, and of manners," until the crowded present has faded away, and they have been able to reconstruct the august and passionless lineaments of the past.

If such a man stood in my place, he could doubtless bring before you the ancient city as it appeared to the converted Pharisee, in the days when it extended far beyond its present limits. He could represent the Basilica to you, as it was when Paul stood there before Nero and his accusers. He could picture to you the sights upon the road to Ostia, where the great Apostle went forth for the last time, under the blue Italian sky, to die by the headsman's stroke. Yet, after all, what historical knowledge or literary skill could add to the emphasis with which these simple words of the inspired narrative must come home to us this morning upon this spot? "And when they had appointed him a day, there came many to him into his lodging; to whom he expounded and testified the kingdom of God; persuading them concerning Jesus, both out of the law of Moses, and out of the Prophets, from morning till evening. And Paul dwelt two whole years in his own hired house, and received all that came in unto him, preaching the kingdom of God, and teaching those things which concern the Lord Jesus Christ with all confidence, no man forbidding him."

Is it mere fancy to find a *second* coincidence for our work of this day, in a special association of St. Paul with our Anglo-Saxon Christianity? My friends, whatever faults or deficiencies may be alleged against our branch of the Church, none assuredly can accuse her of want of reverence for Holy Scripture, or of attempting to hide the Sacred Volume. With us English-speaking men and women the Bible is popular. In speaking of its popularity I am haunted by echoes of the eloquent voice of a great American writer, whom I am sorry to be unable to recognize as fully Christian. The English Bible is carried by the sailor over the sea. It is packed in the soldier's knapsack, and sent home with his sword and sash, when his fights are over

and his rest is won. The sweetest prayers that float upward to our cathedral-roof are in its storied speech. It is a bond between our severed communions, so that those who have not eyes to see the glory upon the Church's battlements, have ears to hear the beauty of the words that come through her opened doors. The dates of the chronicle of Home, the day when a man is born into the world, when another spirit passes forth into the land unseen, are written within its covers. Its leaves are turned by horny hands, and blistered with penitential tears. When our English-speaking maidens go forth upon their marriage morning, they carry it with them as their most sacred gift. When men draw near to death, it brings before their closing eyes the outlines of the Delectable Mountains, and fills their ears with the murmurs of the River of Life. And the Book is worthy of our reverence. Our faith is firm that whatever record leaps to light shall never work *it* shame. Other books have passed away. But of this Book the silver cord is not loosed, nor the golden bowl broken. Never shall the mourners who mourn over a dead creed go through the streets and complain that *it* is carried to the long home where books are buried, which have spoken their last word to the heart and intellect of humanity.

In that book how large a share is occupied by St. Paul's Epistles! Whether or no the marble form, sculptured by Canova in the crypt of St. Peter's, kneels in unceasing veneration before genuine relics of St. Paul, said to be mingled with those of St. Peter, our Church, my American and English brethren, seems to me to do him a far higher and truer honor. Are not his words, in a tongue which our people can understand, read from every altar? Do they not lie upon every desk? Are they not interpreted from every pulpit?

Those marvelous Epistles! If we cannot speak of the Apostle as

'Scattering from the pictured urn
Thoughts that breathe and words that burn,'

yet he has the truer spell of writing sentences whose words have been said "to have hands and feel about our hearts."

Think of those passages, alternately swelling like the trumpet-blast or faltering into tears; sweeping on with a majestic amplitude until, as one has exclaimed, the very rules of speech seem shipwrecked in the whirl and tumult, or sinking into a quiet calm. How full he is of subtle pathos and courteous considerateness! How much do we owe to those great sustained arguments which are drawn, as Chrysostom said, "like a wall of adamant round the universal Church," to those comfortable words heard at every altar, at which our English Eucharistic rite is celebrated, "This is a faithful saying, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners." How many of our dear ones in hours of mortal anguish have heard, with happy tears trickling down between their wasted fingers, those other words "Being JUSTIFIED by *faith* we have PEACE with God, through our Lord Jesus Christ!" All this has passed into our language, has moulded our religious thoughts, and has given our people their primary religious ideas. I think, then, that I was justified in saying that there is a special fitness in beginning this Church of St. Paul in Rome upon the feast of his conversion. Brethren, we raise it in no bitter, offensive, sectarian, contentious spirit. It is for men and women of our faith and tongue. It is a badge of concord between two great branches of the Church, the American and English Episcopal Churches. It is the fruit of liberty. It is the symbol of toleration. It is the altar of a creed and of a Church which

rejects in Christianity nothing that is truly primitive, and in science nothing that is truly established; which reverently retains Christ's word in its purity and Christ's sacraments in their integrity. Who can tell how its very erection here may be blessed in bringing about the fulfillment of that portion of our High-Priest's Prayer, which promises His Church outward as well as inward unity, "that they all may be one; as Thou, Father, art in Me, and I in Thee, that they also may be one in Us, that the world may believe that Thou hast sent Me."

This ceremony made a great impression in Rome. It was a pity that the weather prevented a larger attendance. Rain fell so heavily during the whole morning that most of our own people even thought the service must be postponed. For a time I was in doubt myself, but the advice of the Lord Bishop of Derry was to go forward. Happily, as the hour drew on the rain ceased, and at the moment of the laying of the stone the sun shone out clear and full upon our act. The Italian builders (all Roman Catholics themselves) took this as an auspicious omen or something more, saying to me: "Signore, had the sun shone out so on one of our ceremonies, the Holy Father and all our priests would have loudly proclaimed it as a miracle and a promise of the Divine favor; and, if it means that for them, it must mean the same for you too."

As the service went on the attendance largely increased, every one of course who passed on the streets stopping to see a sight so extraordinary for Rome. In-

deed, for a part of the time we had as spectators the nuns from a neighboring convent, who crowded to their windows with excited interest, until they were all called abruptly away by some superior authority within.

But though the attendance at the ceremony was not so large as was to be desired, the newspapers gave the act wide publicity. I suppose it was noticed in one way or other in almost every journal of Italy, almost always respectfully, and generally in a very friendly spirit. But it was a great novelty to the reporters, who in several instances attempted to describe the service at length. The clerical dress, especially the bishop's, was noted with great minuteness, even the primitive shape of our stole as distinguished from the later Roman shape. The hymn "Before Jehovah's awful throne" made a deep impression, and the fact that all the clergy and people should have joined in it "with earnestness and sincere conviction." The reverent bearing of the clergy was a matter of special remark ; but this was no wonder in Rome, where the behavior of even the cathedral clergy in the choirs of the great Basilica is often scandalously inattentive and irreverent. That the bishop's address should not have been in the nature of a violent attack upon the Roman religion seemed to be equally a matter of surprise. On all sides, however, was the pronouncement that the ceremony was simple, but wanting in neither dignity nor beauty.

The placing in the corner-stone of a brick from In-

dependence Hall, Philadelphia, had a deep significance for the Italian press. One of the leading journals of Rome ended its mention of this with these words : "One of the principal articles of the Act of Independence was the liberty for every man to worship God after his own way—a liberty which Catholicism (Roman) violates continually."

I shall not tire my readers with the detailed story of the anxious, weary years that followed—the winters spent in shaping, directing, and superintending personally the work of the building in Rome; the summers in the yet more wearing labor of raising money at home with which to keep the works in progress.¹ By a great misfortune, we were committed at the beginning of our work to a general contract, which made no provision for stopping the work at our option. We had, therefore, to go on, under the penalty of exposing ourselves to vexatious claims for damages, which would have led to endless difficulties. The nature of the contract itself too was such that at almost every step of our work differences arose with the builders, which had to be contested with the greatest firmness and patience. The persistence of the Italian character is very great; it yields for the moment, but only to spring back to its first position the moment the pressure upon it is taken

¹ The rector visited America seven times for this object as a voluntary service.

off. And of course, between parties who had no practical knowledge of one another's habits of business, misunderstandings were very readily started. The original contract, too, had been prepared with the greatest care upon the part of the Building Committee. The preparation of it had been intrusted to native hands, which it was thought were most competent and trustworthy. It was referred before signing to the lawyer at that time acting for the church, an Italian senator, who stands among the very first counsel in the kingdom, who, whether from indifference to the interests of a foreign Church, or ignorance of what we wanted, allowed us to conclude a contract which really bound us almost hand and foot, and left room for innumerable controversies. Contracts were never made in Rome under the old system for a fixed sum, but a builder undertook to do work whose general character and amount were loosely determined, at a percentage on or off a very full but somewhat complicated tariff of prices for all kinds of labor, established by the Government for use in its public works. This *tariffa* covered some hundreds of pages, and entered into the smallest details. Accounts were made out under it which entered into the most insignificant minutiae. They were made, of course, upon careful measurements of all the work done, which were verified by a surveyor or *misuratore* for each party, or by one chosen by the common accord of both parties. These accounts involve, of course, a wasteful amount of labor,

and are very cumbersome. I think those of the church count over twelve hundred foolscap pages; but the system has the merit of great exactness as long as the work is confined to materials or labors that are clearly specified in the printed *tariffa*; but, the moment you come to any work not specified in the tariff, the way is opened for extortionate charges and endless bargaining. When I say that no builder in Rome had ever constructed a pointed arch or had the least knowledge of English forms or methods of workmanship, it will be understood that our work was nearly of a kind not prescribed in the *tariffa*. And so at every step arose new difficulties, and the necessity of a special adjustment of prices. There was not a day during our whole work in which some question of this kind was not in discussion between the committee and the builders. Neither was it possible at any time during the work to tell what the total cost of the building would be, or to close the accounts up to a fixed date. I am glad to be able to say, however, that the loss to us under this unfortunate contract was one rather of time and patience than of money. The building as finished has been put up at a cost¹ which is considered low, even by Roman architects, and the profit of the contractors was one which did not more than fairly repay them for their time and trouble. It was considerably lower, indeed, than what is usual in this country under our system of contracts for a fixed sum.

¹ About \$100,000 gold, exclusive of memorials.

The total ignorance of the Roman mechanics of Gothic building, or of English methods of work, required of me a constant personal supervision of the works, which consumed as much time, though not as much patience, as the regulating of the accounts. The special charge of the construction was in the hands of a Swiss architect of high character and great energy—the Cavaliere Henri Kleffler—but as all the plans of the architect, Mr. Street, were in English, they required not only a first interpretation at the hands of the Building Committee, but a constant watchfulness as the work progressed, to see that that interpretation had been rightly understood.

When it came to dealing with the builders themselves, the greatest watchfulness was required to maintain the solidity and reality that we wished to insist upon throughout the work. The modern Roman scarcely understands the idea. As builders, they had done no new work of any account for a long time before the new Government came in. They simply patched up the work of former generations, and very cunning they are in this line. But the sense of real construction, in stone at least, has almost been lost. But, worse than this, they have not only lost the care for reality in construction—they have actually acquired a morbid love for imitation, or rather for making something seem to be something different from what it is. This has the merit, in their eyes, of being a work of art, and of standing, in this way,

in a higher rank than simply real work. Any workman, the idea was, could do real work ; but to cover a stone-wall with cement, and imitate brickwork upon it, or turn a brick-wall, by the same means, into an apparent stone-wall, this required an *artist* ; and this disposition had to be combated at every step in the first stages of our work. Before it was finished, however, the workmen had, I think, thoroughly acquired the sense of reality as an essential element in good architecture, and became very proud of this feature in the building, and magnificently ready to launch into any extravagance in order to maintain it.

Arduous, however, as was the work involved in the care of the construction at Rome, it was infinitely less trying, to both health and spirits, than that of raising money to continue the work in progress. We were often at our wits' end for want of funds, and, to continue the work at all, it became necessary, again and again, to assume personally heavy financial liabilities. This part of the work, too, was made very much more difficult than it otherwise would have been, by the repeated heavy disasters which fell upon different parts of the country, and finally by the financial panic which occurred during its progress. Moreover, it was impossible for me to be away from Rome for any great length of time, or at all in the winter season, when alone the members of the city congregations could be reached in their several churches.

In this labor of collecting funds—of which I may say here a very considerable amount was contributed by the liberality of persons not members of our Church—I was most happy in finding many warm friends and helpers, who, either by their large gifts or personal labors and encouragement, greatly lightened its burden; and in this connection, besides those elsewhere named, I wish especially to make my own acknowledgments, and those of the committee, to the Right Rev. William Bacon Stevens, Bishop of Pennsylvania; Mr. William Scott, of New York, and Mr. Henry E. Pierrepont, of Brooklyn, who opened their houses for meetings in behalf of the church; to Mrs. C. L. Spencer, of New York, whose un-failing sympathy in the work was an ever-fresh encouragement, and whose repeated gifts more than once saved us from coming to a stand-still; to the present Bishop of Massachusetts (the Right Rev. B. H. Paddock, D. D.), then the rector of Grace Church, Brooklyn; the Bishop of Central New York; and to the following gentlemen, who, in their respective cities, acted at different times as sub-committees, and rendered efficient assistance in the raising of funds: Messrs. Frederic G. Foster, J. Pierpont Morgan, William T. Blodgett, James W. Beckman, Howard Potter, and Theodore Roosevelt, of New York; Mr. John Welsh, of Philadelphia; and Governor A. H. Rice, and Mr. A. J. C. Sowdon, of Boston. With their help, and that of the other gentlemen named in the first circular, a sum of about \$100,000, gold, has been raised

at a very trifling expense. I think the expenses of collection have come, in all, to not over one and a half per cent. on the money collected. This arose, of course, from the fact that those working for this purpose nearly always bore their own expenses arising from the work.

I must be allowed, also, here to make a special acknowledgment to Mr. George Edmund Street, the architect, who most liberally gave up to the church much that he might strictly have claimed in the way of expenses and professional remuneration, and who also gave a most patient attention to the many questions touching often only petty details, which the inexperience of the Roman builders obliged us constantly to trouble him with. Mr. Street visited Rome three times in connection with the building of the church.

The funds employed for the church construction were disbursed at Rome, under the direction of a finance committee, consisting of the rector and the senior warden, Mr. William H. Herriman, and through the house of Messrs. Spada, Flamini & Co., bankers, of Rome, to whom the best thanks of the committee are due, for their unfailing courtesy and confidence, and for much wise counsel during the troublesome progress of the building.

IV.

CONSECRATION OF THE CHURCH WITHIN THE WALLS.

THE walls of the church were quite finished in July, 1875, and it seemed safe to take steps for the consecration of the church on the Feast of the Conversion of St. Paul, January 25, 1876, which was the third anniversary of the laying of the corner-stone. There remained, it is true, a very heavy work to be done on the roof and the floor, but this could have been readily done had we had the funds to push the work on as fast as we wished. The money yet needed, however, came in so slowly in answer to my last urgent appeal, that the Building Committee were forced, in ordinary prudence, to let the contractors take their own time. The consecration was therefore thrown forward two months to the Feast of the Annunciation, March 25th. There remained, still, always the same hampering want of funds, delaying the progress of the work until finally it seemed almost impossible to get the church into tolerable order, even for the later date of consecration. I would gladly then have postponed this ceremony to the next winter, even at the risk of having it fall outside of the Centennial year, but under the circum-

stances it seemed to be impossible. The bishop in charge had already come out for this purpose; many invited guests, including bishops of the English, Scotch, and Irish Churches, had made their arrangements to be present; and numbers of our own people had come to Rome, or were on their way there, for the ceremony. Above all, the notice of it having gone abroad, and public expectation in Rome being at a high pitch in regard to it, it would have involved almost a moral defeat to have postponed the service. There was, indeed, nothing to do but to go forward. Nor, for the church's sake, do I regret it now, although it involved an amount of anxiety and labor such as I have never experienced at any other time in my life, and left me exhausted with a weariness which the whole summer was not enough to recover from.

To get the church into a tolerable state of fitness for the consecration, it was necessary to strain every nerve; and finally I had to take the personal direction of the men engaged on the different departments of work, visit the different workshops twice a day, lay aside all the work that was not absolutely essential, concentrate all available force on that which was, until, by working with relays of workmen by night as well as day, the church was made fairly ready for the solemn service of its consecration. But few who were present at that service, however, realized the tremendous pressure under which the work was accomplished, or that

the workmen ended their labors only at the moment when the doors were opened for the congregation to enter. I mention this only as an apology for all that was hurried or wanting in the consecration ceremony or its arrangements. Carrying, as I was, these labors, in addition to the ordinary cares of my charge and the pressure of an enormous correspondence—under special personal cares and harassments also at the time—it was utterly impossible for me to give that personal oversight to many details of the occasion which I otherwise would have done, or show that attention to the many guests and friends who had gathered to the ceremony, which my own inclinations prompted and their goodwill deserved.

The following was the announcement of services upon entering the new church:

ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, ROME,
VIA NAZIONALE, CORNER OF VIA NAPOLI.

FEAST OF THE ANNUNCIATION, SATURDAY, MARCH 25, 1876.
Service of Consecration, at 11 A. M., the Right Rev. A. N.
Littlejohn, D. D., Bishop of Long Island, officiating.

SUNDAY, MARCH 26TH.
SERVICE AT 8 AND 11 A. M., AND 4 P. M.

During the week there will be service daily at 11 A. M. with special preachers as follows:

SUNDAY—The Rt. Rev. the Lord Bishop of Peterborough.

MONDAY—The Rt. Rev. the Lord Bishop of Gibraltar.

TUESDAY—The Rev. Lord Plunket.

WEDNESDAY—The Rev. Dr. Henry C. Potter.

THURSDAY—(Confirmation) The Rt. Rev. Dr. Hare, Bishop of Niobrara.

FRIDAY—The Rev. Stopford Brooke.

SATURDAY—Ordination.

Following which there will be services regularly on Sundays at 8 and 11 A. M. and 4 P. M. and daily on other days during Lent at 11 A. M.

REV. R. J. NEVIN, Rector.

Via della Mercede, N. 39, 2^o p.

These services were fully carried out.

The Very Rev. the Dean of Chester (Dr. Howson) had accepted the appointment to preach on the Friday in the octave, but was prevented from coming to Rome by an unexpected pressure of duty at his cathedral. The Rev. Stopford Brooke, then in Rome on account of his health, most kindly consented to fill the place thus left vacant.

It was hoped, too, that the Most Rev. the Primus of Scotland, Dr. Robert Eden, Bishop of Moray and Ross, would have preached at the ordination, and closed thus most fittingly the special services of the occasion; but, most unfortunately, he was prostrated with sickness,

after having started for Rome, and was thus prevented from being present at the consecration at all. This was a very great disappointment, as, apart from the personal regret felt at the absence of a prelate who had taken great interest in our work, and written me many kind words of encouragement during the latter steps of its progress, it cut off our much-desired representation of the Scotch episcopate in general, and also of two of those sees which had united in giving consecration to the first bishop of the Church in America.

The rector of the church acted, therefore, as preacher at the ordination service.

The sun rose clear on the day of the consecration, fulfilling its promise at the moment of the corner-stone-laying. A large congregation gathered as soon as the doors were opened, and in the street many people were assembled to see what they could of so new a service in Rome, and expecting, perhaps, that some violent demonstration might be made against us by the ultra-Papal party, who have a way of appealing to mud and stones and knives, when better reasons fail them.

It had been necessary to limit the entrance into the church by the issue of tickets, which were placed in the hands of the bankers and vestrymen, and distributed freely to all who asked for them. This was not done from any fear of disturbance within the church, but simply to secure for our people place in the edifice, which would otherwise have been filled, long before

the service began, with a large crowd of curious Romans. Some special invitations were also issued to persons whose official rank seemed to demand such a courtesy upon our part, and to such foreigners as it was understood desired to be present; but these invitations simply gave entrance to the church in the same way that the ordinary tickets did. In this way every American and Englishman in Rome who cared to be present was secured a place at the service, and, while the idle crowd were kept out, no Roman, who felt interest in the matter, had any difficulty in getting admission. As it was, there was a large Italian representation present at the service, including members of the municipal and national governments, a number of deputies, and several members of the Roman aristocracy. Many of these could speak English, and were able thus to form from the service a very fair conception of the nature of our worship.

The clergy formed for the procession to the church-door at the neighboring Hôtel Quirinale, kindly put at our disposal by its Swiss proprietor, Mr. Bauer, and decorated for the day with the flags of the several nations represented.

There were present in robes, and taking places in the choir, the following clergy:

Of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, besides the rector, the Rev. R. J. Nevin, D. D., Rev. C. Ellis Stevens, deacon; Rev. Thad-

deus A. Snively, priest; Rev. Henry F. Hartman, priest; Rev. Arthur Mason, priest; Rev. Samuel M. Akerly, priest; Rev. Henry C. Potter, D. D., priest; Right Rev. William Hobart Hare, D. D., Bishop of Niobrara; Right Rev. A. N. Littlejohn, D. D., Bishop of Long Island.

Of the Church of England: The Rev. T. Hewitt, priest; Rev. —— Bingham, priest; Rev. J. Dixon, priest; Rev. —— Hulme, priest; Rev. J. Barnwell, priest; Rev. —— Howes, priest; Rev. H. C. Sanderson, priest; Rev. J. W. Pickance, priest; Rev. H. C. Wass, priest; Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Gibraltar; Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Peterborough.

Of the Church of Ireland: The Rev. Somerset B. Burtchael, priest; Rev. R. L. McClintock; Rev. Lord Plunket; Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Down and Connor.

There were present, also, one or two English clergymen whose names have escaped me, and also (though not in surplices) the Rev. William P. Lewis, D. D. (American), and the Rev. Stopford Brooke (English).

The following-named gentlemen constituted the wardens and vestrymen at the time of the consecration: William H. Herriman, William Scott, wardens; William Stanley Haseltine, Hickson W. Field, Edward D. Boit, Elihu Vedder, John A. King, George P. Clapp, J. S. Dumaresq, F. Crowninshield, D. Maitland Armstrong, F. Augustus Schermerhorn, A. J. C. Sowdon, vestrymen.

The procession, headed by Dr. E. G. Monk and Messrs. Newton and Howard Ticknor, robed as choristers, and closed by the Bishop of Long Island (bishop in charge), passed silently down the Via Nazionale through a large but perfectly respectful crowd, and were received at the doors of the church by the wardens and vestrymen, where the request for consecration was read by William Scott, Esq.

The main doors of the church were then for the first time thrown open, and the bishops and clergy, according to the rubrics of our service for the consecration of a church, proceeded up the aisle, singing alternately Psalm xxiv. in unison. The clergy having taken their places in the choir-stalls, and the bishops gone within the rails, the consecration-service was accomplished by the Bishop of Long Island, after the simple but impressive form provided in our office. The bishop in charge, with the Rev. H. C. Potter, D.D., and the Rev. Lord Plunket, as attending presbyters, took his place in the beautiful Episcopal chair, provided chiefly by funds given for this special purpose from the churches whence our Episcopal succession is derived. The instrument of donation was presented by the wardens, and the sentence of consecration read by the Rev. H. C. Potter, D. D. After the act of consecration had been accomplished, the proper service for the day was read, and the Holy Communion celebrated, the clergy taking part, as follows :

IN THE MORNING PRAYER.

Sentences and Absolution.....	The Rector.
First Lesson.....	Rev. H. C. Potter, D. D.
Second Lesson.....	Rev. Lord Plunket.
Prayers.....	Rev. Somerset B. Burthael.

IN THE CELEBRATION OF THE HOLY COMMUNION.

The Commandments...The Lord Bishop of Down and Connor.	
“ Epistle...The Rev. Hy. Wass (English Chaplain at Rome).	
“ Gospel.....The Lord Bishop of Peterborough.	
“ Sermon.....The Bishop of Long Island.	
“ Offertory.....The Bishop of Niobrara.	
“ Consecration.....The Bishop of Long Island.	
“ Post-Communion Prayer...The Lord Bishop of Gibraltar.	
“ Blessing.....The Bishop of Long Island.	

The rector, the Rev. Henry Wass, the Rev. Arthur Mason, and the Rev. Thaddeus A. Snively, assisted the bishop in delivering the communion.

The Venite was sung to.....	Tallis in F.
Psalm lxxxiv.....	Russell in F.
“ cxxii.....	E. G. Monk in B _b .
“ cxxxii.....	Rimbault in F.
Te Deum.....	Boyce in D, and Gilbert in G.
Benedictus.....	Foster in D.
The Introit.....	Hymn 278, from Tucker's Hymnal.

IN THE COMMUNION SERVICE.

The Kyrie, Gloria Tibi, and Sanctus, were....Tuckerman in C.
The Hymn before Sermon.....Hymn 405, The Hymnal.
The Anthem after Sermon, "Praise the Lord, O my soul,"
By Sir J. Goss.
The Gloria in Excelsis.....The Hymnal.¹

I cannot allow the notice of this part of the service to pass without making my sincere acknowledgments to the gentlemen and ladies, both English and American, who very kindly gave their services in singing, and went patiently through the frequent and tedious rehearsals which were necessary in the training of an amateur choir. The results of their labors, however, I think must have satisfied them that the time thus given was in no way lost. And more especially here do I desire to put on permanent record the thanks of the congregation and my own thanks to Dr. S. P. Tuckerman, of Boston, Massachusetts, and Dr. E. G. Monk, of York Minster, England, the two gentlemen who contributed most largely to the success of the music given on this occasion. Dr. Tuckerman had at first expected himself to take charge of the music on this occasion, but, being prevented by illness in his family from reaching Rome,

¹ In this connection I desire to acknowledge the gift to the church for this occasion of a dozen copies of the latest edition of "The Hymnal, with Tunes Old and New," from the publishers, Messrs. F. J. Huntington & Co., of New York.

he not only made the arrangement with his friend Dr. Monk to fill his place, but furnished at his own cost all the sheet-music required for the occasion, and a large supply of canticles and full services for future use. It was desired to use a complete service of Dr. Tucker-man's own composition at the consecration, but the want of an organ, and of voices thoroughly trained to choral singing, forced us reluctantly to fall back on the simplest possible music for the first part of the service.

It is impossible for me to speak too highly of the service rendered to the church by Dr. Monk's labors on this occasion. Though it was his first visit to Rome, for the two months previous to the consecration he gave his time always first to perfecting the arrangements for the musical part of the service, and finally succeeded in getting together a large volunteer choir, and by incessant rehearsals in drilling them into such a state of efficiency that, in spite of the want of an organ, and of all other defects, the music was worthy of the occasion, and drew out warm praise from the Roman press for its "admirable harmony and precision." Dr. Monk himself presided at one of Mason and Hamlin's cabinet-organs—something far enough removed from the organ at York Minister, but which still certainly did wonders on that occasion.

The whole service was accomplished without any interruption or act of courtesy, nor did anything of the kind occur during the entirely open services of the

week following. I learned afterward that the Government had taken some precautions to check promptly any demonstration that might have been attempted against us; but on the part of the Roman people we experienced only a curiosity which, if sometimes somewhat eager, was yet always perfectly respectful.

The Italian press reported the consecration of the church throughout the kingdom, and the act was considered important enough to call out leading articles in nearly all the prominent papers, both Papal and Liberal. The laudatory articles in the Liberal press goaded the Papal organs up to very lengthy and venomous attacks, not so much upon the particular church in Rome as against the general body that we represented. The *Osservatore Romano*, the special mouth-piece of the Vatican and of the Pope, devoted a whole page to a Rome-manufactured history of the English Reformation, from which I give a few quotations, as showing the light in which the Church of England is held at the Vatican, and the exactness of information in that school of writers. I commend it to those who dream of a possible reconciliation of the Anglican Church to the Roman communion :

"Then came the cruel Elizabeth, the famous Virgin, the mother of a number of bastards, who, for the Catholic symbol of Henry, substituted Calvinism, planting it in England with fire and with sword. She abolished nearly all the sacraments, prohibited the practice of the ancient Catholic worship under

atrocious penalties, and through her deadly laws filled England with blood and mourning. After Elizabeth, the Anglican, like all other Protestant sects, changed in a thousand ways until, in our days, the question has arisen as to whether baptism be necessary, and it has been decided that nothing positive can be established on the subject. Anglicanism is nothing more than an infernal chaos of changes and contradictions."

Describing, in its own way, the constitution of the American Church, it asks :

"And is this the Constitution given by Christ to His Church? Is it not rather a bad imitation of the revolutionary Constitutions? And yet a Church constituted in this manner, without symbol, without sacraments, without rites properly so called, dares to call itself a Christian Church, to erect temples, and in the name of Christianity and of civilization to propagate its doctrines in the very metropolis of Christendom! May God illuminate the blind, and may the Blessed Virgin, who has been so atrociously outraged on her most memorable festival, pardon them, instead of calling upon her Divine Son for 'vengeance!'"

This is a fair sample of the Papal idea and style of controversy—scurrilous abuse of everything that does not bow down before the idol which the late Council set up in the Vatican. Of the articles in the Liberal press I shall quote only that of the *Libertà*, one of the strongest daily papers in Rome. This article was referred to by Mr. Shakspere Wood, the correspondent of the London *Times* in Rome, as being—

"a correct expression of the line of thought now dominant in the mind of nine-tenths of the thinking population of Rome and Italy—of those who, while sincere believers, not only in the fundamental but even of the more modern dogmas of the Roman Church excepting infallibility, are stigmatized by the Pope, by his surroundings, and by the Vatican organs, as outside the pale of Catholicity, because they do not accept the necessity for the temporal sovereignty of the head of the Church."

The *Libertà* says, in its issue of March 27, 1876, according to Mr. Wood's translation :

"The consecration of the new American Episcopal church is a fact of the highest possible importance, upon which it behoves the public to turn its attention. The church rises in one of the new quarters of the city, in standing witness to the new start of this city of Rome, which has already seen so many changes across the centuries. This church, so entirely different from the Catholic churches, and from those of every other religious body, is there to show that tolerance and respect for every form of religious belief are one of the foundation-stones of modern society.

"But those who look upon this new temple as no more than an eloquent manifestation of religious tolerance will make a profound mistake; it has a far deeper and far more important significance.

"Putting on one side for the moment all purely religious opinions, and with the highest respect for all convictions, we cannot but think that this new Protestant temple, erected by

the contributions of the faithful, and within which are no traces of vain pomp and luxury, will recall to the minds of many the idea of a religion far more simple than the Catholic, and far more robust. In other words, the Episcopal church, with its naked walls, and its crowd of reverent worshipers, will diffuse—possibly without knowing it, but none the less efficaciously—a desire, and perhaps a need, for some important change in the ancient and respected Catholic religion.

"No one assuredly will accuse us of irreverence if we add that, if such a change should come about, it would be beneficial. From all Protestant Churches, two principles emanate more distinctly than all others: the right of individuals to private judgment, according to their consciences, of the doctrines the Church teaches; and the participation of the laity in the government of the Church itself. These two principles, fundamental in the religious reform of the sixteenth century, could not then take root in Italy, because politics were opposed to them, and the repression of every innovation was vigorous and cruel. In our day, on the contrary, the road is open to them, and they can become freely diffused. We do not think that the great mass of the people can for long resist their influence; we are rather of opinion that with time, with the example of others, and through calm and impartial discussion, these two fundamental ideas will be received with a good grace even by Catholic society itself. The clericals continually repeat that their Church is eternal, that no power can ever destroy it. In truth, these are manifest exaggerations, though for many respectable as being suggested by a sincere faith. Although apart from these exaggerations it may be asserted that the Catholic religion possesses sufficient vitality to insure its existence for a good number of centuries, yet movement and gradual transformation

are as essential conditions of life as immobility is a characteristic of death. Without, therefore, showing any want of respect, we may express the conviction that the Catholic religion will find the way to transform itself—in other words, to adapt itself—to the actual condition of human society. It is not desirable that the transformation should be effected in a hurry, or it will not be durable; but that it should take place the Catholics themselves should more than any others desire, for in it will in all probability consist the future *raison d'être* of Catholicism."

The *Illustrazione Italiana*, published at Milan, and the chief illustrated paper of Italy, in its issue of April 16, 1876, published a large view of the exterior of the church, and also a representation of the consecration service. These were accompanied by an article from the pen of Cesare Donati, from which I give a short extract, as showing the impression made upon the Italian mind by the church building. After describing the exterior as very pleasing, the writer goes on to say:

"The interior, to judge by what it is now, of what it will be when finished in all its parts, has a better effect even than the exterior. The simplicity of the lines, the quiet light, the cleanliness, the perfect harmony of the whole, help greatly to self-recollection and meditation, in this place of peace and of love. Without being believers, without being fervent, it is enough for one to have a refined and well-regulated mind, to feel the power of a simplicity so ingenuous and pure, which stands in strong contrast not only with the pomp and unreality of other supremely earthly forms of worship, but seems a very oasis of

the desert—a place of refuge for souls driven by the strong and unbridled passions of modern society."

The church at the time of the consecration was far from finished in its interior, and lacked especially the most commanding and artistic feature of its exterior—the tower. This, however, had already been provided for by the gift of one person—Miss C. L. Wolfe, of New York—who took upon herself the whole cost of its construction, about seventeen thousand dollars—this in addition to a most generous gift to the building-fund proper at the time of the consecration. In this way it came that, though funds were still badly needed for finishing the building and inclosing and draining the grounds, the committee were able to carry on the building of the tower without interruption, so that by the beginning of July the cross had been placed on top, and the American and Italian flags unfurled at its foot announced to Rome, on the Centennial anniversary of American Independence, that this our monument there to religious liberty was finished. I cannot sufficiently express my appreciation of Miss Wolfe's wise act, in assigning her gift to this special object—otherwise the tower might never have been raised, or have dragged along until its erection would have lost all its significance. Put up as it has been, it has made a great impression upon the city. It is preëminently the thing about the church which gives it a monumental character; and among the people, jealously proud of the

artistic reputation of their city, the giver is looked upon as a public benefactor. The *Opinione*, the largest paper in Rome, and unofficial government organ at the time, made the finishing of the tower the occasion for a three-column article of warm praise of the building as a "beautiful monument," for which Rome owes thanks to American zeal—and liberality.

Another gift which has been very useful in the public impression made on the city is that of a chime of twenty-three bells, given by Mr. Thomas Messenger, of Brooklyn, New York. These bells, from the time-honored foundery of Severin Van-Aerschot, of Louvain, Belgium, are of rare musical quality, and, when properly hung for carillon-ringing, will be a new feature in Rome, whose bells are anything but sweet and are always jangled sadly out of tune. They were not received at Rome until the beginning of June last, and three of them, placed hurriedly in the tower for provisional ringing, were first sounded on the 3d of June, the anniversary of the *Statuto*, or founding of the present constitutional government in Italy. The same day, by a curious coincidence, was the feast of the Papal jubilee, the fiftieth anniversary of the episcopate of Pius IX., the culminating day of the pilgrimages which crowded Rome this past spring.

The largest of these bells weighs three-quarters of a ton, and bears the legend, "*Verbum Dei non est aliagatum.*" Mr. Messenger has, I believe, already set up

many bells in various parts of the Church at home. None, certainly, do him more credit, or have given out a truer, nobler, or more needed utterance of the Church than those which on the day of the Pope's jubilee sounded out to the people of Rome, and to pilgrims gathered there from every part of the inhabited world, the long-stifled voice of Rome's greatest martyr—VERBUM DEI NON EST ALLIGATUM—the Word of God is not bound.

No American, habituated from childhood to the thought of religious liberty as a right as free to man as God's air and water, can possibly understand what this church on the Via Nazionale, dedicated to the great Apostle to the Gentiles, means to a Roman mind. Severely pure and beautiful in its architecture, it has come to stand before the Roman (indeed the Italian) people as the material representation of all those principles of truth and freedom which flow from St. Paul's teaching. And it has come thus to be looked to as the very type and symbol of the struggle of Protestantism, in the best and widest sense of the word, against the Papacy. It is a matter of constant wonder and expectation in the minds of the people; of wonder that there is any form of Christianity real and vigorous enough to manifest itself thus in the front of the Papacy, and the wide-spread infidelity that it has begotten; of expectation as to whether it will be able, and especially as to *how* it will be able, to maintain itself.

On the one side it is a matter of constant promise and encouragement. A Roman prelate of high standing but reforming views told me he felt stronger every time he passed under its tower, and more than one priest in Rome feels so.

On the other hand, it sadly demoralizes the confidence of those who have pinned their faith to the Papacy, and who have tried to hide from themselves the truth as to how greatly its power over the world is gone. It has always been a matter of great and superstitious self-confidence to the Roman clergy that, amid all the changes of centuries, the city of Rome has never been occupied by any form of Christian worship that did not recognize the Papal sovereignty. It was a place until six years ago where the wearied and discouraged soldiers of the Papacy might return and, ostrich-like, hide their heads and strengthen themselves in the imagination of an omnipotent Papacy. And the most of those who formed the ruling body known as the Curia comforted and strengthened themselves thus in a darkness from which they never looked out. "*Roma locuta est,*" and then they imagined that there must be an end of it. They knew theoretically that there were persons in the world who did not hear and obey, but they knew it only theoretically. They never realized it as a practical fact. They had no appreciation of how many such people there were, and of what manner of men they were. The tower built by Miss Wolfe preaches thus to the Vatican every

day a sermon such as it has never in all its history had before. No Pope save Pius IX. has ever seen, as Pope, the cross blazing above a place of Christian worship that did not own him as lord. The lesson is a very real one —this first lesson of his hierarchical power limited at its very head—of the living Christ burst forth from all his guards and seals. Now it may produce only a feeling of indignation and resentment; but in the course of time it will tell, and help very really to shatter that supreme confidence in itself which has always been one of the strong defenses of the Papacy.

Those of us who have happened to be in Rome at this crisis in her history have, in building this church, done what we could to represent the Church worthily, and put her in a position whence her influence may be exerted commandingly for good upon the religious thinking of the rising Italian nation. As far as we have been able to go, every thing that has been done has been well done. We have built not for ourselves—most of those who began the work in Rome have already removed to other homes—but for the Church. It remains for the Church to decide how far the work done shall be utilized for wider work than the care only of our English-speaking people. Every Sunday many hundreds of the Italian people are drawn to the church, eagerly anxious to study our manner of worship. From many of these have come to me repeated requests for the opening of services in a language understood by the

people ; and these requests have been forcibly urged on these grounds, that we alone, of the Churches of Western Christendom, claimed equally with the Roman to stand in the historic continuity of the Church, and to have preserved the faith and practices of primitive Christianity better than the Roman Church ; that our liturgy offered a form of service in which the Italian people could realize in some degree their ideal of worship, and that thus we could do for them a work which none of the Protestant missions so far started in Rome could with any reason be expected to accomplish ; and it was further urged, that this work was to be looked on, not as a work of proselyting from the Roman Church, of drawing from another communion souls that might, perhaps, equally there, find salvation through the name of Jesus ; but that it was to be looked on rather as a giving of the word of life to the heathen, as the opening of a way for a return to the Christian Faith, of souls that had become wholly estranged from Christianity as a religion through the monstrous falsifications of it in the communion in which they or their fathers were brought up, and for whom there was no possible hope of recovery through the Roman Church. I cannot too strongly press this sad truth in regard to the Italian people—intellectually, I think, in many respects the noblest in native capacity, though not in education, of Europe—that a large proportion of the thinking classes have wholly lost their faith in Christianity, as the one divinely-revealed re-

ligion of the world. This is not a partisan statement; it is simply what the Pope himself has more than once in far stronger terms charged upon the Italian nation, forgetful of the retributive fact that he and his predecessors have had absolute control of the religious education of this people for more than a thousand years, and are before God responsible for the sad condition of their faith to-day.

Have this people, from whose past we have received so much that is highest in our civilization, a less claim upon our Christian charity than a heathen people? Is it a higher mission to gain new ground for Christ than to recover that which has been lost by the faithlessness of those to whose keeping it was intrusted? Have we no duty toward the stray sheep of that house in Israel whose faith, once spoken of throughout the world, was the chief instrument in recovering our forefathers to Christianity, when the oversweeping bands of northern heathen had wellnigh put out the last embers of Christian truth in our mother-land?

This is the question with which "St. Paul's within the Walls" confronts our bishops and Church at large to-day. I leave it to their wider and more experienced wisdom, with the sure confidence that, whatever we may do or leave undone in the future, the faith and labor that have reared, in the city where he died, this noble tribute from the American people to the memory of the great Apostle to whose teaching more than to any other

human voice in history we owe, under God, the whole fabric of both our civil and religious liberties, have not been spent in vain. Even were it to be razed to its foundations to-morrow, a voice has gone out from it already whose echoes can never be laid—the same cry which, from the bonds and darkness of a Roman imperial prison, proclaimed from the mouth of Paul to all people and times the invincible, irrepressible power of his Master Jesus—“THE WORD OF GOD IS NOT BOUND.”

FEAST OF THE ANNUNCIATION.

(SATURDAY, *March 25th.*)

SERMON PREACHED AT CONSECRATION OF ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, ROME, BY THE RIGHT REVEREND A. N. LITTLEJOHN, D. D., LL. D., BISHOP OF LONG ISLAND, IN CHARGE OF FOREIGN CHURCHES.

"To all that be in Rome, beloved of God, called to be saints: Grace to you and peace from God our Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ."—**EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS**, chap. i, v. 7.

IT was in these words that the great Apostle to the Gentiles saluted the Christians of Rome at the beginning of his memorable letter written to them from Achaia, A. D. 58. They breathe the spirit of the Church's Head. They carry us up to the fountain of all grace and on to the perfected fruit of that grace—the peace of God which passeth all understanding. They were the glowing utterance of a heart intensely alive to that law of Christ's kingdom, which makes all who accept the faith of the Gospel members one of another, joint inheritors of the eternal promises, and partakers together of the life of the one body and of the gifts of the one Spirit. They lift us at once into the higher realm of spiritual experience, where the mind of

Christ dwells in all souls that are truly His, however they may be separated by distinctions of ecclesiastical lineage, or by peculiarities of doctrinal confession, by diversities of race and language. Hence, we may regard this salutation, in which the heart of Paul made the pulsations of its love felt among the believers of Rome more than eighteen centuries ago, as suitable to be used in every age by widely-sundered members of the body of Christ.

But may I not claim that there is a special fitness in thus saluting all Christian dwellers in this ancient city at this time and on this occasion? Whatever may be thought of the ecclesiastical system centred here, or of the means by which it has grown to its present shape, or of the influence which it wields over the peoples and civilizations under its sway, we know that many here and elsewhere accept its teaching and obey its authority, who are worthy to be called saints, and on whose lives and labors we rejoice to invoke the grace and peace of our Lord Jesus Christ. On the other hand, it is equally our joy to find in this apostolic greeting the keynote to the services we this day celebrate, as well as of the offices and ministrations which will be performed in this sacred edifice through all coming time. Gathered here from a region far more remote than Achaia, and bearing with us many uses and traditions foreign to the religious tone and habit of this land, we yet accept and repeat, in all the broad and glowing charity in which

they were originally uttered, the words of the apostolic salutation; recognizing in them, as we do, the voice of evangelic love which has risen through the ages all along from the various branches of the one body high above the strife of tongues and the clamors of heresy and schism.

The occasion which has brought us together is so remarkable in every way that it cannot but excite inquiry and possibly provoke criticism. In anticipation of both, I desire to state frankly and clearly why we are here and what we purpose to do, leaving the results to Him who ruleth all things according to the counsels of His will. Be it known, then, that a branch of the one Catholic and Apostolic Church planted in the New World more than two centuries ago, more or less modified by the national life with which it has mingled, and claiming to exemplify in their integrity the fundamental principles of the Church's primitive faith and order, has in the persons of some of its members and official representatives established itself here in this the oldest centre of wellnigh the oldest life in Europe; and that to-day and by this service it solemnly consecrates to the worship and glory of the Triune God this sanctuary, within whose walls it will deliver through a duly-commissioned ministry what it believes to be the true testimony concerning Christ and His body—the Church. Our civil right to do this is sufficiently explained and guaranteed by the religious liberty now so happily estab-

lished in this realm. Our ecclesiastical right will, very naturally, be denied by all who desire to restore the once exclusive supremacy of the Roman obedience. But it rests upon grounds which cannot be shaken—grounds which justified a large part of the Church in the sixteenth century in driving from its borders universally admitted corruptions and usurpations; in asserting the independence of national Churches of the Roman See; and in accepting as inevitable the consequences of the great schism of the West—grounds, too, which have stripped the excommunications and anathemas of the Papacy of all validity or force in the eyes of reformed Christendom. These, too, I may add, are the grounds which oblige every pure branch of the Catholic Church to provide its members sojourning in countries dominated by the Roman supremacy with the ordinances of religion; or, failing in this, to leave them to perish for lack of the bread of life.

If the Roman obedience be not so apostate as to have forfeited all right whatever to undisturbed jurisdiction over the souls of men, it has, at least, so far excluded from its notice or care all who reject its unwarrantable terms of communion as to deprive multitudes of the privileges of common worship and of the comfort and edification of the Word and Sacrament of Christ's body and blood.

We are here, then, first of all, to shepherd the sheep of our own fold, to tend and feed them as dwellers in a

strange land, who cannot accept what the Papacy offers without accepting a bondage fatal to the faith in which they have been reared and to the liberty wherewith Christ has made them free. But, on the other hand, while here for the discharge of so grave an obligation to its children, this Reformed Catholic Church of America does not come in a spirit of aggressive propagandism, nor to work confusion and disorder, nor to plant a new sect. The witness it will deliver to those who will, from time to time, tarry here to gaze upon these tide-marks of the ages, and to study the wonders of art and the rich legacies of vanished empire, will not and cannot be confined to them. It will become of necessity a positive element in the surrounding life, and will wield an influence far transcending the narrow and often obscure circle within which it will first operate. It must take its place in the inevitable conflict of opinions; and, so far as it shall prove itself true, it will be clothed with the power and will achieve the victories that belong to truth. Controversy it will neither invite nor decline if the interests of truth demand it. As much as in it lieth it will strive for peace with all men and for the true unity of Christ's Body.

Again, this parish, though working in a foreign land, will be imbued with the genius and identified with the characteristic movements of the Church which it represents. In all that it will do, or leave undone, in its teaching and worship, and in the practical duties of the

pastorate ; in its dealing with individual souls, and with the intellectual and theological tendencies of the time, it will reproduce throughout the sphere of its influence, not merely the Catholic Christianity which is the common inheritance of all the historic Churches, but Catholic Christianity as it has been modified in its minor accidents by contact with American life. As it will minister primarily to Americans, so its ministrations will of right and necessity be permeated more or less by an American spirit. Nor, we are persuaded, will this fact at all hinder or discredit those ministrations among this people, whose hearts recent events have brought into active sympathy with the nobler elements of that youthful and yet imperial life across the sea. It cannot be but that in this land of reviving culture, liberty, and progress, not a few of the characteristic ideas of American civilization—its intelligent patriotism, its love of equal justice, its loyal submission to law, its ardent love of knowledge and universal education, its enthusiastic devotion to national unity, its conception of civil government as at once the servant and the master of the popular will—it cannot be but that here these and similar ideas, though presented in all their wonted breadth and freedom, and as forming part of the general atmosphere of the religion to be preached in this place, will be welcomed with joy and accepted as helps to the solution of some of the more grave and disquieting problems of the hour.

But, if this parish is to be regarded as the organ of the Reformed Catholic Church of America in this capital, it may be well to forecast somewhat in detail the testimony it will deliver by considering some of the avowed aims and sympathies of that Church so far as they relate to the theological tendencies and ecclesiastical movements of the time.

As might be expected by all who know anything of her history, the American Church is concerned, before all else, to maintain the purity and integrity of the Catholic Faith. In discharging this highest function of her stewardship, no branch of the Church has had a more varied and instructive experience. She knows, as scarcely any other part of the Church in this century knows, what it costs to give an unflinching witness to the truth and order of the kingdom of God. Her history from the beginning has been one of conflict with adversaries of every name. At no time have her borders been free from the smoke and tumult of battle. From almost nothing she has grown to be what she is amid the contradictions and anarchies of sects—each at times more anxious to extend the power of its organization than to preserve the fragmentary deposit of truth taken into its keeping. And, it may be added, that her growth has been sure rather than fast because of the unswerving testimony which she has borne to unwelcome or forgotten portions of the Church's faith and order. In standing fast, as she has, through this first

century of her independent existence, for the defense and confirmation of a complete and undefiled Christianity, she has been doubly tried. It had been enough, perhaps, for her praise among the Churches if she had successfully met the religious errors and extravagances engendered by the restless energy and crude liberty necessarily incident to the formative period of such a diversified and intense life as that which has been so rapidly developed on the American Continent. But she has done far more than this. For it must be reckoned as among not the least of her responsibilities that she has been obliged to confront antagonists born and nursed here amid this Old World life. Europe has given to America much of her blood of every name. But with it she has given much of her ignorance and sin—much of her infidelity and superstition. The evils arising here from a half-dead or a corrupt religion have been aggravated by migration across the sea. The unbelief that is silent here under the pressure of external authority, finds a licensed tongue there. The ecclesiastical ambition that here cajoles or threatens kings and cabinets, there dallies and intrigues with the democratic masses, veiling the iron hand of intolerance and persecution under plausible professions of love for liberty and knowledge.

Now, it has been in such a school that the American Church has learned how needful it is to maintain whole and undefiled the Catholic Faith. That she has learned

this lesson well, and that she means every parish she plants, every diocese she organizes, every bishop she consecrates, and every priest she ordains, shall learn it well, there can be no question. The proof of her intention is evident in all that she has said and done, in her written and spoken thought, in her liturgy and her laws, in her practical administration, and in all the utterances and movements of her corporate life. Whatever the religious confusions and adulterations, whatever the religious instability and disloyalty of the time, her heart and voice go out in resolute and emphatic witness for the Faith *once* delivered to the saints : *once* in respect of time, as never to be repeated ; *once* in respect of quantity, as never to be added to or taken from ; *once* in respect of quality, as never to be improved by any possible progress of the human race.

The American Church may not have studied some of the evil omens of the time so profoundly as they deserve. The enormous pressure of practical work has not allowed her to spend more than chance hours in the cloisters or in the watch-towers of modern religious learning. Amid her absorbing endeavors to win over to Christ and His Church the incoming millions about her, she has looked to her mother—the Church of England—so incomparably rich in all the conditions and resources of a ripe and versatile culture, to furnish the larger share of the apologetic literature needed for the defense and explanation of dogmatic truth. Nevertheless, in a

thousand ways and in a thousand fields of labor she has evinced her deep solicitude at the perils which threaten the Faith. She is keenly alive to, and would set her house in order against, them all, come from what source they may : whether from the atheistic materialism that would substitute "a stream of tendency" for the personal Jehovah ; or from the advanced free thought which clings to the nomenclature of Christianity while declaring the doctrines for which it stands obsolete, and which is not ashamed to eat the Church's bread while engaged in the traitorous task of eviscerating her creed and loosening the joints of her corporate life; or from the Gallio-like latitudinarianism which regards indefiniteness of dogmatic statement as a blessing, and finds a new hope for the ultimate union of all believers in compromises and dilutions which sap the very foundations of belief; or from the sentimental æstheticism which shrinks from marring the perfect beauty of the Son of God by answering with dogmatic authority that question of questions, "What think ye of Christ?" or, finally, from the Ultramontanism which, in open defiance of Scripture, right reason, and history, elaborates at will new dogmas from the mine of uncritical tradition and coins so-called Catholic verities from the devotional fervors and stray fancies of the fathers. Against these and all like dangers she strives to protect, at all hazards, the sheep of Christ's fold committed to her care.

But the duty of maintaining and perpetuating the

Catholic Faith cannot be satisfactorily treated apart from a question which recent events have forced into great prominence. Whatever may be the value of unwritten tradition, patristic authority, and even General Councils, as subordinate guides to the right understanding of the verities of our religion, the written Word of God is the original and unerring source of all that is necessary to be believed for the soul's health and salvation. But experience shows and the reason of the thing demands that the written Word, in order to accomplish its purpose, must have an interpreter practically as unerring as itself. If this be so, where is that interpreter to be found? Under what conditions and by what tongue does it speak? Revolve this question as we may, it is undeniably pressed home by the logic of events as scarcely any other is, upon the deepest and most serious thought of the day. It is impossible that any living branch of the Church can be silent amid the grave and portentous conflict of opinion which it has excited. Certainly that branch which speaks here to-day through her episcopate, her priesthood, and faithful laity, would deem it a shame to be dumb upon such a subject, and especially so amid these surroundings. She has very earnest and, I believe, very definite, convictions in regard to it; and I do not err, I am sure, in supposing that the occasion which has called us here invites and justifies their expression.

There are some fundamentals connected with this

subject which are not open to debate. The Holy Scriptures were given to the Church once and for all. When they were given they could have had but one meaning. That meaning was understood, and transmitted to us by the inspired writer. Whatever that meaning was, it must be the same in all times and in all places. The salvation of man is helped or hindered according as that meaning is perfectly or imperfectly, rightly or wrongly, apprehended. Again, to all believers it is a certainty that the Holy Ghost abides in the Church always ; that He abides there, among other reasons, to guide the Church into all truth which God has revealed ; and that the only security we have against error is derived from His guidance, which we must believe to be infallible, if we believe Him to exist at all. On these points there is and there can be no controversy among Christians. But, these points admitted, the vital question remains, How does this infallible Guide operate ? Does He work upon each mind separately and independently, or upon each mind through the whole Body of Christ—the Church? Again, if the Holy Ghost operates upon each mind through the Church, how is that operation expressed and certified ? Is it through the Church Catholic, as it exists in all times and in all places, and as it speaks through Ecumenical Councils and the consentient teaching of its doctors ? Or is it through the Church Catholic finding authorized utterance only in a personal and infallible head ?

Now, the extreme Protestant theory asserts that there are really only two factors working on the mind of Scripture—the individual reason and the Holy Spirit working through it. The Romish theory agrees with this in the number of factors ; but for every man's reason substitutes the reason of *one* man—the Pope's, the alleged head of the Body. The primitive theory, and, as this Church believes, the only safe and true one, admits the three factors named in the Word of God—the Holy Ghost, the Church, the individual. For, undeniably, the Word appeals to the individual soul as having an ultimate responsibility for receiving or rejecting the truth, exhibits the Holy Ghost as the Guide into all truth, and declares the Church to be the pillar and ground of the truth, and hence the keeper and witness of Holy Writ. Now, it is sure that the help of the Holy Ghost is part of the spiritual birthright of every believer. But, on the other hand, if this help were given to every believer in such a sense as that he would be enabled to interpret an infallible book by an infallible guide, then it would follow of necessity that every believer's interpretation would in itself be infallible. But in the light of history and experience this is impossible—impossible alike for pope or bishop, priest or layman. In substance the following argument has often been set forth by our theologians : It is the teaching of Scripture that the Spirit is given wholly to none save Christ. Unto us, that is, unto all believers individually, whether

exercising official function in the Church or not, the Spirit is given by measure. His gifts are divided to every man severally as He wills, some to this one, some to that ; but all gifts to none. But, thus divided, they are gathered up again in their fullness, as in Christ, the Head, so in the Church which is His Body. Hence, if infallibility be found anywhere, it must be found not in any single believer, not in any single officer of the Church, however exalted, but in all believers collectively—in the corporate whole, the Church.

This view finds its sufficient proof in the relation which the Church holds to Christ. For St. Paul tells us that this relation is not that merely of a member to its head, but of the wife to her husband. And from this he argues that the Church enjoys with Christ a complete partnership or community of gifts and privileges. What was His *is* hers. And so if to Him the Spirit was given without measure, the Spirit in the same sense is given to her without measure. His infallibility is her infallibility. Hence we declare our faith not only in God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, but also in the Catholic Church. Such is the ground and such is the form of the only infallibility which God's Word guarantees.

But, with the facts of history before us, and in order to make this infallibility a practical thing, it is necessary to show how this attribute of the Church asserts itself, and how we can be helped by it amid the changes and con-

flicts of religious opinion. There has been no part of the Church which in one way or another has not gone astray. The Churches of Asia erred. We believe the same of the Eastern and Roman Churches, and we cannot suppose that our own is free from error. But, if all the parts be fallible, how can the whole body be infallible? The answer must be sought in the mode of the Holy Ghost's operation. He does not make any one individual, or assembly of individuals, whether Pope or General Council, infallible. Nor has He so dwelt in the Church universal of any one age as to make that infallible. And yet it is not the less true that He so adjusts and overrules the fallible individual elements as to secure infallibility in the whole Catholic body. In this way, to adopt the happy illustration of another, "the whole is a system of compensations similar to that which, in the pendulum of an astronomical clock, or the balance of a chronometer, so adjusts its materials that the inaccuracy of every one part shall in all cases correct the inaccuracy of every other part, thus producing from elements—all of them imperfect—a perfect and equable whole." The only Ecumenical Council of which it can be said that it never errs, or can err, is the Council of the Church universal; not the Church of the fourth, or the fifth, or the tenth, or the nineteenth century, any more than of the Church of Rome or of Alexandria; but the Church of all time as well as of all space. "The Council that we appeal to is that in which Chrysostom,

with Theophylact, arranges with Augustine and Remigius, with Andrewes and Leighton, the boundaries of faith and duty ; where Cyril lays down to Caietan and Zanchius on the one hand, and Beza and Vorstius on the other, his theory of the Divine presence, while Bingham stands by and weighs the authorities in his honest and impartial balance. Men may be fallible, General Councils may err : this is a council which cannot err, whose canons are fixed and infallible." For to this continuous assembly, as has been shown, the Holy Ghost is given without measure, as He was to Christ the Head, who is all in all.

Practically this sort of infallibility does not cover every detail in which this or that mind may be interested. There are numberless permitted opinions on which it does not decide. There are wide reaches of theological speculation with which it does not interfere. But it settles all necessary things, and, with regard to them, plants our feet on a rock which cannot be shaken. It gives us the Faith once delivered, and the meaning of all the Scriptures which authenticate that Faith. It gives us the Church, and the meaning of all the Scriptures which relate to its constitution, order, and fellowship. It gives us the true pattern of the Divine life in the individual soul, and the meaning of all the Scriptures which portray the gifts and graces which compose that life.

If we study this subject historically, we shall find

that there have been five distinct periods in which the Holy Ghost has wrought specially upon the mind of the Church. In the first period—that of the persecution—He gave us, through the organization of the Church, the Apostles' Creed, the threefold Ministry, the Sacraments, and liturgical worship. In these we may trace every vital doctrine of religion, not clearly defined, but broadly stated. In due time this first period lapsed into the second—that of the undisputed General Councils—when the Holy Ghost guided the Church to a definition, in the Nicene Creed, of what it had all along steadfastly believed. In the third period—that of the schoolmen—the Church, under the same guidance, elaborated the Athanasian Creed. This period, as has been frequently proved, did for words what the second did for ideas. And so theology, both in precision of terms and of ideas, developed into a recognized science. The fourth period—that of the Reformation—swayed by the same directing hand, and in order to purge the Church of the doctrinal and practical errors which had been slowly culminating, undertook an exhaustive revision of doctrine and practice, appealing to Holy Scripture, as interpreted by a primitive and pure antiquity; while the fifth and last period—that of modern times—has attempted a radical reëxamination of all that had been done in the previous periods. We accept, then, as infallibly true whatever was certainly held in the first period, defined in the second, and established by the critical labors of the others.

And this we do, because whatever has thus passed into the mind and tradition of the Church, bears the evident stamp of the witness of the Holy Ghost, which is the voice of the Holy Catholic Church in all times and in all places. This is an infallibility which satisfies human reason, harmonizes with the Word of God, both asserts and limits the proper functions of the Church as the teacher and guardian of the Faith, and makes all history for eighteen centuries a coherent and indisputable witness to the Word and work of the historic religion of Jesus Christ. In the presence of such a witness to truth, Trentine enactments and Vatican decrees and Papal fiats are of moment only in that branch of the Church from which they emanate. As addressed to the whole Church they are alike powerless and impertinent.

Again, if the American Church is outspoken and resolved in maintaining the Catholic Faith, she is not less so in maintaining the Apostolic Order of the Church. She affirms with one consent, and in conformity with Holy Scripture and primitive antiquity, the *unity, equality, and the solidarity* of the Episcopate—the unity in the sense that all grades of the ministry fall back on it as their common ground, and trace through it their apostolic descent from Christ, the Head—the equality in the sense that all who bear office share alike both as to quality and degree in the divine gifts and functions attached to it; the solidarity in the sense that the Episcopate constitutes a sacred and ma-

jestic fellowship of the ordained leaders of God's elect, a fellowship in which the strength of the whole can be thrown into every part, and the strength of every part into the whole ; the distribution and concentration of official power being regulated by the principle of organic interdependence between all the members of the Apostolic College. If the Church be one, that oneness must exhibit itself as well by oneness of order as by oneness of faith. To set forth and maintain this oneness of order is a cardinal function of every genuine bishopric. The Episcopate is the organ of the Church's voice when she speaks, and the pivot on which she turns when she would marshal her hosts for defense or go forth to meet her enemies at the gate. Every true bishop is the visible sign and centre of church unity for the place where he abides ; and communion with him in the bonds of the one Faith is the sufficient evidence of Catholicity in the belief and obedience of every member of Christ's body.

The Episcopate, moreover, is the Church's corporate witness unto her living Head, and unto the truth as it is in Him. For, said Christ unto the Apostles and through them unto their successors forever, " Ye shall be witnesses unto me in Jerusalem and in all Judea and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth." To the Episcopate also has been committed, in all its various uses and applications, authority of oversight and government in the Church of God—an authority which,

though subject to canonical regulation and amenable to the unwritten law of ancient and universal custom, is always of the nature of an inherent and inalienable right. For the sake of greater efficiency of ecclesiastical administration, or of more prompt and easy inter-communication between different portions of the Church, Provincial and General Councils may establish gradations of authority running up from bishops to metropolitans, exarchs, and patriarchs. But in all such arrangements for convenience nothing may be lawfully done to impair the integrity and normal influence of the bishopric as the ultimate unit of the Church's order and authority.

This we hold to be the Scriptural and primitive view on this very important subject. How sadly it has been neglected and violated by the two extremes of Christendom need not be argued. By the one the Episcopate has been dwarfed into a function of the presbyterate, mere Papal appointment taking the place of solemn ordination; the priest commissioned to do the bishop's work without assuming the bishop's order; the Pope absorbing into himself the entire Episcopate as though it were a single bishopric, and leaving no room for any divinely established order in the ministry between himself and the ordinary priesthood: while the other extreme has cast aside altogether this chief order in Christ's Kingdom, and, on the ground of ministerial parity, has permitted both the office and the order to fall into disuse and contempt.

It is impossible to estimate the evils which have been produced by these radical departures from the original polity of the Church. When the arch built by the Divine hand is robbed of its key-stone, it cannot be expected to preserve its strength and symmetry. When man's inventions supplant God's arrangements, disorder and ruin must ensue. But for Rome's mutilation of the Apostolic Episcopate the great schism between the East and the West—the parent of all subsequent schisms—had not taken place. On the other hand, but for the abandonment of that Episcopate by a large part of the reform movement in the sixteenth century, there had been no Protestantism which, because of its doctrinal disintegration and chronic tendency to sect divisions, could tempt not only bigots and scoffers, but men of catholic temper, to pronounce it a failure.

I need not argue for the restoration of the primitive ideal of the Christian Ministry. Voices older than many of these monumental ruins about us plead for it as no living tongue can. Witnesses for it abound in the great libraries of this venerable city; witnesses ready to take the stand in the general court of Christendom whenever summoned from their here enforced silence and obscurity; witnesses which the accumulated errors and usurpations of a thousand years have not banished from the Church's memory. There is Irenæus in the second century speaking for the Christians of Gaul and reproving Victor of Rome for his attempted assumption of author-

ity over the bishops of Asia.¹ There is Cyprian at the close of the third century with that memorable declaration on his lips, "Episcopatus unus est, cuius a singulis in solidum pars tenetur." There is Jerome at the end of the fourth century who tells us, "Wherever there is a bishop, whether at Rome, or at Eugabium, or Constantinople, or Rhegium, or Alexandria, or Tani, he is of the same worth. Neither the power of riches nor the humility of poverty maketh a bishop to be higher or lower; but they are all successors of the Apostles." There, too, most significant of all, is Gregory the Great of Rome, just as the sixth was lapsing into the seventh century, rebuking John the Faster, bishop of the rival see of Constantinople, for daring to assume the title of universal bishop, and telling that proud ascetic that whoever took such a title to himself "was the precursor of Antichrist." Such are a few out of the multitude of witnesses. Their testimony leaves no room for a reasonable doubt. It is so positive that it seems strange that any question on this subject should ever have been raised, and far more so that a vast hierarchical scheme should have been built up on the denial not only of its force and validity, but even of its existence.

Again, the American Church cherishes a lively sympathy with all properly-planned efforts for the multipli-

¹ Euseb. Hist. Eccl., l. v., cap. 24; Cyp. de Un. Eccl., p. 108; Hieronymus ad Evagrium, Epis. 85; Robertson's "History of the Christian Church," vol. ii., part i., p. 9, *passim*.

cation of national Churches—a subject of constantly-increasing interest to our modern Christianity; she believes this policy to be abundantly sanctioned by primitive precedent, by the nature of things, and by the fundamental law of the Church's expansion. Especially does she advocate it now in view of two opposite and equally alarming tendencies of the hour. On the one hand, there is a strong drift in the ecclesiastical mind to substitute more and more centralization for universality, absolutism for regulated liberty, the sovereignty of a popedom for the rights and customs of autonomous Churches; while, on the other hand, and as the result of an ultra-Protestant reaction from this extreme, there is an equally pronounced tendency to resolve the historic Church into a loose congeries of independent sects, each striving for self-aggrandizement, and some not unwilling to throw over any part of the Faith which is an offense to the easy thinking or the skeptical indifference of the time.

National Churches duly planted, independent in local concerns, but confederated for the promotion of common interests, self-governing and yet in active communion and fellowship with all sister Churches, bound together in the grand historic series, and yet pulsating with the social, political, and intellectual life of the peoples to whom they minister the Word, and Sacraments, and Discipline of Christ—such Churches are the providentially-elected barriers against the despotism threatened

by the one and the anarchy produced by the other of these tendencies.

The nation in its own sphere is as much God's ordinance as the family or the Church. It is the civil unit of races, and is ordinarily not more the offspring of physical causes—such as blood, and climate, and geographical boundaries—than it is of God working in history and speaking through the hopes and ambitions, the antipathies and enthusiasms, of mankind. The nation comes to the birth, ripens, declines, and dies. It has will, conscience, memory, personality. It suffers and rejoices. It is rewarded for the good and punished for the evil done in the body. It has a distinct and necessary agency in the collection and transmission of knowledge. In its heart and brain, in its experience and achievement, civilization finds the solution of its problems and the demonstrations of its laws. The nation is the noblest incorporated factor of the world's life, and as such is it regarded both by Divine revelation and by human thought as the foremost of all secular instrumentalities in developing the counsels of God's will. What, then, more suitable to the fitness of things, or expressive of the Divine wisdom, than that the limits of the nation should be accepted as the metes and bounds of the organic subdivisions of the Church of Christ? In this way more effectually than in any other does the idea of the universal and eternal kingdom of God acquire a name and a visible habitation among the tribes and kindreds of men.

So, too, by being blended with the sublime personalities of nations, all the divine gifts and energies of that kingdom are intensified as they can be by no other method of distributing ecclesiastical power.

History affords not a few undoubted proofs that this was intended to be the law of the Divine movement, in bringing to bear upon the human race the truth and discipline of the Church. Plainly there was the suggestion of this law in the national groups assembled on the day of Pentecost, to hear each in its own tongue the wonderful works of God; while, beyond all question, there was a more or less complete fulfillment of it in the planting and organization of Churches by the Apostles and their successors in the first ages of the Faith. Set aside and even reprobated, as it has been, for a thousand years, by the centralizing policy of the Latin communion, this law reasserted itself as one consequence of the return to early teaching and precedent achieved by the conflicts of the sixteenth century. Ever since, sometimes instinctively and sometimes consciously, it has permeated and directed all orderly attempts at permanent ecclesiastical organization which have grown out of the great missionary movements of the Church of England. England's colonies have wellnigh belted the globe. Industrially, politically, and religiously, they may be said to have changed the destinies of at least three out of five continents. The Cross has gone wherever her flag has been accepted as the symbol of an established sovereign-

ty. In the most of her dependencies, what were at first feeble missions of the parent national Church, have already developed into Churches which are substantially autonomous. The earliest of these colonial missions is the Church of America, which speaks here to-day; and what occurred there a century ago must, in the course of events, occur sooner or later in British North America, in India, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, and some of the island groups of the Pacific. The territorial limits of to-day will become the boundaries, if not of new nations, then at least of new and independent Churches, each exercising full liberty of decreeing rites and ceremonies conditioned only by fidelity to the faith and order of the Catholic Church, and all as loving daughters united in holy fellowship and communion with their common mother, and with the whole Body of Christ throughout the world.¹

¹ Since the first appeal in behalf of a colonial episcopate, forty years ago, more than sixty new sees have been founded in intimate connection with, and as the offspring of, the English Church. This wonderful increase of daughter Churches has naturally brought to the front the consideration of their proper position and due subordination to the parent Church. The question has occurred, and will occur again: Are these colonial Churches to be contented with the idea which prevailed at their first creation, viz., that they should be a mere transplanting of a branch of the Church of England, with its perfect organization of a threefold Ministry, a completed Prayer-Book, and a reformed ordinal, into the new colony, or old heathen dependency of the crown? or are they, with their enlarged sphere, to entertain and to

This revival by the great Anglican Communion of the apostolic law of church expansion will plead powerfully with other sections of Reformed Christendom to

act upon larger, truer, and surer principles, and to seek to become independent, territorial, national Churches, entirely separate from, though retaining a perfect union and communion with, the Church of England ? This question is assuming, year by year, larger importance. The various colonial Churches have, if the expression may be allowed, attained the growth of a vigorous youth, and have necessarily cast off the swaddling-clothes of their more immature infancy.

The course of events is gradually working to this end. It is generally asserted that the present Archbishop of Canterbury, who was a few years since so zealous in requiring from every colonial bishop the oath of canonical obedience to himself, no longer insists on that condition as a necessary prerequisite to obtaining his sanction for the consecration of a colonial bishop. The College of the Bishops of South Africa, in their late synodical meeting, repudiated altogether this demand. They unhesitatingly insist on the rule that "every suffragan bishop should take the oath of canonical obedience to the metropolitan of his own province, and to no other; and further, that no archbishop or metropolitan of a province should be required to take such an oath to any other archbishop or metropolitan." This canon, laid down by the African bishops, gives the true solution of the question by securing the independent existence and the complete organization of each colonial Church ; by providing it with the means of taking its place in the visible community of the Catholic Church, and yet, at the same time, enabling it to retain a perfect union and communion with the See of Canterbury. This fidelity to its original parentage is secured by the acceptance, through the National and Diocesan Synod, as the very groundwork of its constitution, of the Prayer-Book, articles, canons, and discipline of the English Church.—*English Churchman, June, 1873.*

do likewise. All that part of the religious mind of Germany that has been aroused into active resistance by the late enormous claims of the Vatican is already convinced that the only sure barrier against those claims must be found in a Church of the nation and for the nation. The same conviction is gaining ground in Italy among all who cling to the principle of an historic Church and yet repudiate the errors of the Church of Rome. And, I doubt not, the time will come when the Holy Orthodox Church in Russia, as she multiplies her branches among the dependencies of the empire, will act upon the ancient law which has shaped, with such happy results, the various colonial outgrowths from the Church of England.

But I must pass on to speak briefly of another topic of absorbing interest—the restoration of the lost unity of the Church of Christ. With every reasonable and healthy attempt toward this end, the Church in America most earnestly sympathizes. It is scarcely too much to say that the hearts of her clergy and her people have been bowed as the heart of one man in solemn intercessions with the God of all grace and truth for the fulfillment of the prayer of our blessed Lord that all who love His holy name may be one in Him and in His Church, as the Father and Himself are one. She mourns over the unhappy divisions of Christendom, not only because they defeat what she believes to be the true theory of ecclesiastical unity ; not only because they cloud her visions

of the ideal glory of the bride of Christ; nor yet only because they chill her enthusiasm in the service of the Gospel; but, in addition to all these, because of her bitter and disastrous experience of the evils engendered by those divisions in the land which is the scene of her labors—evils which threaten the social life of America with disintegration, and cast an ominous shadow upon the future of its otherwise hopeful civilization. And yet, earnestly as she yearns for the healing of those divisions, she does not forget, nor allow those about her to forget, the nature of the unity which she craves, nor the means by which alone its consummation can be attained. The laws of this unity are not of man's enactment, but of God's revelation. They are not local and temporary, but universal and unchangeable. As there is but one Head, even Christ, so there is but one body, even the body of Christ. And as there is but one body, so there is and can be but one Church: There can be two Churches no more than two faiths, two Lords, two baptisms. The whole Church is Christ's Body, and Christ's Body is the whole Church. The unity of each is reciprocally and necessarily the unity of the other. It is impossible that several Churches can exist in the sense that each contains the totality of the one body. For there is no whole thing that can be contained in one of its parts. In view of all the purposes for which the Church was instituted, there is for some of these purposes as much need of a visible, organic unity, as there is for

others of a spiritual unity. To be content with the latter is to leave the half of the Divine idea unrealized, and with it the half of the Church's office and work unfulfilled. But if the true and complete unity must on one side be seen and corporate, as well as unseen and spiritual on the other, it must exhibit itself amid whatever diversity of external features, by signs and notes which all may discern, and none may reasonably doubt. What these are may be certainly known from Holy Scripture and apostolic practice.

This is the unity which the Church once had, but lost ; and in losing it drew upon herself a partial paralysis of her power, together with woes which have filled our Zion with mourning and desolation. To recover this lost treasure is the great question of the hour. In no respect have these schools of thought and fellowships of independent sectaries which rejoice in their special hold on the great thoughts and franchises of our modern life shown a more hopeless feebleness and confusion than in their attempts to deal with this problem. The folly of sentimental unions and diplomatic truces and hollow alliances has been too clearly exposed to allow them much influence or favor in the future. There is and there can be no healing virtue for the Church's gaping wounds in vague schemes of sectarian confederation, which start with affirming either that there are no differences serious enough to justify division, or that the differences which exist are so serious

as to render divisions inevitable and incurable. Modern inventions must give place to the ancient wisdom. The Divine pattern of unity was given on the Mount. It was given, too, as certainly and made as obligatory as the two tables of the Law. That pattern reappeared in the mind and teaching of Christ. It was reproduced in the organizing work of the Apostles. It gave shape and direction to the faith, and polity, and life, of the early Christian ages. To this we must return. All efforts toward unity that reject it are worthless, and will float away as foam-bubbles on the noisy tide of our modern anarchy. This disorderly, schismatic life of the time must be gathered up and recast in the mould of a traditional historic Christianity, purged alike of Popish and sectarian novelties and perversions—a Christianity taught in the Gospel of the Son of God, summed up in the primitive Creeds, attested by the undisputed General Councils, preached by the threefold Ministry, sealed by the Evangelic Sacraments, and wrought as fine gold seven times purified into the prayers and songs of the saints of all ages.

It must be borne in mind, too, that the desire for the restoration of unity, though it has manifested itself of late with singular fervor, is no new or strange thing. It has lived on and asserted itself in various ways since the memorable schism of the ninth century. The eirenic literature of the last thousand years is a precious treasure of the Church, proving as it does that the hope of

better things—even of the one Fold on earth, as of the one Shepherd in heaven—has never died within her. On all sides, of every name, in former days, as now, there have been those who longed and labored for the blessed consummation. Among them there have been bishops of this famous See like Adrian VI. and Clement XIV.; learned and pious doctors of the Latin obedience like Leander and Santa Clara, Panzani and Bossuet; also of the Lutheran and Anglican communion like Leibnitz and Wake. But the present throbs with this great yearning as has no period in the past; and it is of moment to observe the attitude and spirit of the leading parties to any possible eirenicon of the near future. The various divisions of advanced Protestantism, which has been happily styled “an arrested development of free thought,” have not the ability, if they had the wish, to contribute much to the movement. They are still too much in doubt whether schism be a curse or a blessing, to be capable of very deep convictions, or to strike very earnest blows. Rome, on the other hand, has in the last ten years hunted from her borders every vestige of the charity which found a voice in the Councils of Trent and Florence, and which continued to speak out timidly perhaps, but sincerely, in a series of her best scholars and divines, until silenced by the relentless intolerance of the late Vatican Council. With a proud contempt of all who resist her will, she stands forth boldly declaring that she will accept from external bodies no terms of

fellowship but such as can be summed up in a confession of error and a prayer for mercy. The Church of the East, as represented by its most vigorous and enlightened branches, has broken through the isolation of centuries and is now studying in a kindly and comprehensive spirit the history and theology, the polity and worship, of the Reformed Churches of the West ; while the Old Catholics, aside from other important offices in the development and direction of the religious thought of the time, are now with vast credit to themselves holding the commanding position of an accepted mediator between the Eastern and Western Churches. Of the origin and object, the tone and progress, the already splendid services and achievements of this movement, I need not speak in detail. All who hear me must be familiar with its aims and methods, and especially with the intelligent conservatism, the sturdy loyalty to the Church's faith and order, the wisely-directed energy and patient hopefulness which have thus far characterized its corporate action and its individual leaders. I am free to say that had it done no more than bring to the front of our living Christianity the illustrious Döllinger, a man whose marvelous gifts would have made him an ornament and a blessing to any age, and whose late inestimable services entitle him to rank with the great fathers of the past, it would have done enough to win for it the admiration and gratitude of all Christians.

As for the Church of England, and our own Church

of America, however their deep interest in all judicious attempts to rid the Church Catholic of the shame and sorrow of its present schisms may have been shown in other ways, it has been most conspicuously manifested in the timely and considerate coöperation which they have afforded to the leaders of the Old Catholic Reform movement.

In dwelling upon this phase of the Christian thought and activity of the day, it is well to remember that all this stir and fervor in behalf of a restored unity have proceeded not from intemperate zealots, or dreaming mystics, or fiery reformers bent on a wild crusade against real or imaginary evils. They are, if anything in the present can be said to be so, the solemn and deliberate utterance of the mind and heart of Christendom, quickened to a nobler life, and burning with the rapt vision of what prophets predicted and apostles preached, and the saints of all ages cherished, and multitudes beyond the veil, which no man can number, now see reflected in the crystal sea around the throne.

It remains, in conclusion, that something be said upon the attitude of this Church toward the Spirit of the Age. The Spirit of the Age is no unmeaning generality. It has a sense sufficiently definite to enable us to grasp it. Whatever that sense may be, it is a folly to ignore it, and a crime to misrepresent it. If it be true that God is in history, then, in its deepest significance, the spirit of our time, as that of every time gone

before, is the voice of God in the affairs of the world. Viewed on the surface, the Spirit of the Age is the life of the age expressing itself with a more or less marked individuality through all the great and customary forms of human activity, through industry and commerce, through society and government, through civilization and knowledge, through literature and religion. On one side it reflects God working in humanity, and, on the other, humanity working with or apart from God. It is neither altogether good nor altogether evil. It is the mixed product of mixed forces. For example, the average man of the time craves unity in all knowledge, certainty in all he is asked to believe, equality before God and the law, solidarity among social classes and among peoples, liberty to be and to do whatever may be needful for the highest development of his manhood. Now, this craving is from God, and is the crystallization of an ideal which God has planted in the soul. But this craving is subject to many errors and abuses. It is often perverted by ignorance, corrupted by selfishness, and pressed into the service of anarchy. Thus God is the author of the impulse; man is the author of its perversion. All efforts at human regeneration are wise or unwise, strong or weak, fruitful or fruitless, according to the degree in which they recognize this distinction.

Now, if we have rightly defined what is meant by the Spirit of the Age, it will not be difficult to outline the attitude held toward it by the leading forms of our nine-

teenth-century Christianity. There is no mistaking the present posture of Romanism. Its literature and theology, its conciliar decrees and avowed policy, its education and practical administration, leave no room for doubt. It hesitates not to denounce the characteristic life and movement of the time as born of Satan, and hopelessly depraved. It invites and justifies an irrepressible conflict between the Gospel it preaches and the present reigning tendencies of civilization. It assails science as an enemy, and the best culture of the day as an abortion. All liberty that will not accept its authority is license, and all order in society and the state that is not obedient to its will is anarchy. It would be hard, indeed, to name anything that the age especially values as the outgrowth of its life which is not the object of its secret distrust or its open hatred. Asserting an absolute supremacy in all things temporal and spiritual, all things and all men that question or reject that supremacy are driven from its pale and execrated. The grounds and causes of its hostility are so evident that one's charity is in no way hazarded by stating them. It could not be expected to love an age that is so out of joint with its own plans and aspirations—that is so sharp and resolute in reminding it how often and with what madness and guilt it has broken with history, outlawed the Scriptures, and trampled on the rights of the common reason of mankind. This is an age bent upon facts; the Papacy offers it novelties and fictions. It is an age that de-

mands proof; the Papacy has got beyond such beggarly elements. It is an age that insists upon logic, and accounts demonstration a cardinal virtue of the intellect; the Papacy treats both as the impertinence of a sceptical generation, and invites mankind to rest their faith on the dictum of its bishop. There can be no concord between such opposites. The warfare between them must go on to the bitter end.

But how, as regards the Spirit of the Age, stands all that part of our modern religion which accounts it its chief merit to be removed from Rome far as one pole from the other; and what shall be said of the ultra-Protestant type of Christianity with its inordinate self-will, its undisciplined independence, its extravagances of private judgment, its skepticisms and its credulities? This flatters and glorifies the age for the very reasons which move Romanism to condemn and revile it. For Rome's bald pessimism, it substitutes a sentimental optimism. Admitted evils are only good in the making. Excesses indicate an overplus of life. Disease is inchoate health. Heresies are chiefly noteworthy as signs of emancipation from the grasp of narrow dogmas; and schisms are the inevitable result of the operation of a law of elective affinity by which like wills and like hearts coalesce into congenial fellowship. It is the tendency of this extreme in religion, though often modified and restrained, to confound what is divine and what is of the earth, earthly, in the drift of the age. Itself un-

stable, and rejoicing in its unchecked independence of thought and action, it lets loose the subtle solvents of a restless and ambitious individualism upon all wholesome authority, whether in the family, or the state, or the Church. Romanism cannot lead the age, because it hates the age. The religious systems on the opposite wing cannot lead it, or at least cannot lead it safely, because they repeat in their own sphere not a few of the evils of the age which cry most loudly for correction. The Church for which I speak—Reformed, Catholic, Apostolic—true to the ancient traditions, and at the same time to the modern spirit, is in sympathy neither with Popery nor sectism, in their theoretical conception or practical handling of the age. It neither disparages nor exalts, assails nor defends, the age. It is in accord with its spirit so far as it obeys the mind and purpose of God as exhibited in revelation and history. It opposes it so far as it rebels against them. It rejoices in its work, and is thankful to find in this century so much that is helpful to it in doing this work. Amid the wonderful activities and developments of these times, it devoutly recognizes the Divine hand shaping the energies of humanity; while it sets itself with such power as God has given it to overcome sin and wretchedness in all their forms. Given for all the ages, it is in and of this age; but no more than it has been in and of the ages gone before. It finds in Christ, the everlasting Son of God, the only source of the unity, certainty, equality,

and liberty, which can satisfy the cravings of man ; and so it is its supreme aim to domicile its Lord in every heart, and to establish his sovereignty over every intellectual movement, and every social and political institution of the world. It preaches a Gospel which harmonizes with every rational aspiration and every noble achievement of the time. It rejoices over all growths of genuine knowledge and all gifts and graces of true culture. Its faith in the future glows more brightly at the grandeur of modern enterprise and the wonders of modern discovery ; for it knows that sooner or later they will enhance the power and extend the glory of the Cross. It would have all men obey a will higher and stronger than their own ; and it would have them do so because they are freemen and not slaves. It abhors despotism, and dreads individualism ; because both equally disturb the divine equilibrium in the affairs of religion and in the affairs of civil society. It would have order without stagnation, authority without oppression, and all forms of conscious organic life preserved in their integrity, and yet so tempered and adjusted as to make every man not less, but more, a man.

Such, then, as we believe, are the convictions and sympathies of the Reformed Catholic Church of America on some of the leading topics which absorb more or less of the educated thought of the day. Those convictions and sympathies will, as occasion may require, be reproduced in the teachings and ministrations of this holy

place. And, as this house will bear the name of the great Apostle to the Gentiles, let it be our prayer that the testimony to be delivered within its walls may be characterized not only by the boldness of speech and charity of feeling which made his ministry so wonderful among men, but also by his supreme desire to glorify the Gospel of the Son of God by bringing all men to know the riches of His grace and the power of His salvation.

In behalf of the Church at home, in behalf of this parish, in behalf of all who shall worship here in coming time, I make grateful acknowledgment to all who on either side of the sea have by their services or by their offerings borne a part in this noble venture of faith. Nor may I withhold the tribute of the Church's praise from my beloved brother—the rector of this parish—who finds in what he is permitted to behold this day the reward for all his toils and anxieties. He has done well, and he will deserve to be remembered by all who shall hereafter enter into his labors, and build on the foundations which he has so wisely laid.

And now, O God Triune, accept from our unworthy hands, for Jesu's sake, this temple builded in Thy name. Make it, we pray Thee, the habitation of Thy glory ; the place where Thine honor dwelleth ; and so the home of Thy people, and the joy of many generations.

THE MYSTERY OF THE GOSPEL.

BY THE LORD BISHOP OF PETERBOROUGH.

SUNDAY, *March 26th, 1876.*

"And for me that utterance may be given to me that I may open my mouth boldly to make known the mystery of the Gospel."—*EPHESIANS vi. 19.*

THERE is something very touching in these words, as we contrast them with the words which immediately precede them. They are part of St. Paul's famous exhortation to the Ephesians, in which, summing up all of teaching, of warning, of exhortation, he had previously given, he exhorts them finally to be strong in the Lord, and in the power of His might. How great, how brave St. Paul appears to us, as we remember his noble, his spirit-stirring words, as he calls forth the hosts of the Lord to their warfare against all forms of evil—"Put on the whole armor of God!" We know, too, what a history these words have had—how they have been the very battle-song of the army of Christ. They read like the harangue of a great general calmly surveying the forces arrayed against him. From then till now those

words have rung and floated high above all the noise and strife of the kingdoms of this world as they call the soldiers of Christ to war in His name. How great, how fearless does St. Paul appear to us as, writing thus from his prison, he defies the might of pagan Rome !

But, after these words of lofty courage, what follows ? Words which seem to breathe a fear lest he, who was exhorting others to stand fast in the evil day, might not be able himself to stand, might not speak as boldly as he ought to speak. He adds entreatingly, almost piteously, "Pray for me." How touchingly do these words, which reveal the secret fear in the heart of the Apostle, sound in our ears as contrasted with those words of lofty cheer with which he encouraged others ! But they are not only very touching but very important for us. Without these words, and others like them, the writings of St. Paul would lose half their value. He would be for us, in that case, only the inspired Apostle —the great leader and lawgiver of the Christian Church seen, in the far distance of eighteen centuries, like that statue of the Lawgiver of the older covenant, which draws to it the admiring gaze of all who visit this city —great, colossal, faultless, but passionless and impassive marble. We could admire, but we could not sympathize or love such a being. We could never learn from his example, or strengthen ourselves with his experience. But when the Apostle reveals to us, in such utterances as these, his inmost heart and feelings, it is no longer

the great Apostle we see, but the man of like passions with ourselves ; troubled with the same doubts, trembling with the same fears, tried by the same temptations, craving the same sympathy, sustained by the same grace, his trial may be our trial, his triumph our triumph.

And now, turning our thoughts from the difficulties and fears of the Apostle to those who are taking part in this present work and the difficulties which surround them, let us see what was the great difficulty and trial which awaited the preacher of the Gospel in the days of Paul. What was it? The shame of the material cross? It may be doubted if this ever really hindered the preaching of the Apostle. If he could have preached circumcision, the Apostle tells us the offense of the cross had ceased for him as regards the Jew; and, as regards the Gentile, surely the fact of a shameful death has never hindered the world from honoring those of its heroes who have suffered it. Some of the names most honored in the world's history have been snatched from inscriptions upon dishonored graves. It was not, then, the shame of the literal cross, but something in the doctrine itself which daunted the hearts of the first preachers. What was it? What is the Gospel that they preached? It is this: "God so loved the world that He gave His only-begotten Son that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life." That is the everlasting Gospel. Where lies the painful mys-

tery which made men afraid to preach it? For the Jew, the offense lay in that one word the "world." That God loved, not one nation, not the Jews only, but all! All had equally a right to the Father's love, and a share in His blessing. This was a mystery to the Jews. It was a new thing to them. They had always held Judea as the only kingdom, themselves as the only people, of God. They had no objection to the Gentiles being saved, provided they first became Jews; but to tell them that the kingdom of God was as wide as the world itself was to offend them with the painful mystery of the catholicity of the faith of Christ. It was to that most subtle of all forms of selfishness—the narrow sectarianism of party spirit—that the Gospel of Christ proclaimed itself as irreconcilably hostile. It was not that Christ was crucified, but that He was crucified for all men, that offended the Jews. The catholicity of the Church of Christ was the secret of its offensiveness to the Jew.

But, it may be said, this characteristic of the Gospel, if it displeased the Jews, must have pleased the Gentiles. These at least could find neither offense nor mystery in a Gospel which proclaimed them fellow-heirs, with the Jew, of all the loving purposes of a Father in heaven. Wherein, then, lay the offense of the Gospel for the Gentiles? It lay in this other word, "He that believeth in Him shall not perish." This universal kingdom has a King—a law—has essential conditions of citi-

zenship, and one of these is the absolute supremacy of its King. The idea of such a King was a new, a strange idea for the Gentiles. They had no conception of one God and one Lord. They had gods many, and lords many. They crowded into their Pantheon the many gods of all nations, all equally welcome, equally honored there. If Paul would have been content to preach Christ only as one new occupant of their Pantheon, then he might have taken his stand in front of those temples, amid whose ruins we walk to-day, and have preached unheard, perhaps unheeded, Jesus and the resurrection.

But, had he done no more than this, we should not now be here among the ruins—they would be temples of a loving worship still. It was before the cross, uplifted as the one only means of man's salvation—it was before the presence of the Crucified One, proclaimed as the one only God and Lord of men, that the idols and temples of the heathen crumbled into ruin. This claim for absolute, sole supremacy for Christ and His faith must have been an offensive mystery to the Gentile. It was not the preaching of a new god, it was the dethroning of the old. It was not the revelation of a new creed, it was the rejection, the denial of all other creeds, that offended him; and thus the Gospel of Christ gave two-fold offense—to the Jew and the Gentile. By its catholicity it offended the party spirit of the Jew; by its dogmatic definiteness it offended the Gentile. Its proc-

lamation of one Father for all men offended the sectarianism of the Jew; its claim for absolute submission offended the latitudinarianism of the Gentile. For the Jew it was too broad—it admitted all men; for the Gentile it was too narrow—it refused to admit all creeds: and so it was that they who preached this mystery to Jew and to Gentile alike had need of a supreme courage in order to preach it boldly as they ought to preach it.

Brethren! This Gospel that Paul preached is unchanged and unchangeable. It is the everlasting Gospel, and the human heart, to which it addresses itself, is still the same. The difficulty, the offense, the mystery of this Gospel, then, must be the same now as ever. It is so. The Gospel now, as then, offends sectarianism by its catholicity, offends latitudinarianism by its exclusiveness. The love of God in all its fullness, as it proclaims it, offends the bigot. The truth of God in its absolute supremacy, as it preaches it, offends the skeptic. And from each of these sources arise now, as then, the trial and temptation of its preacher.

The Church of Christ is in danger now, as ever, from sectarianism. Was there ever a period in the history of the Church in which the spirit of sectarianism was rifer than it is at this moment, when Christendom, split into numberless sects, ringing with unessential shibboleths, seems in danger of losing altogether the idea of the one great world-wide kingdom of its Lord?

That idea—for ages a great realized fact—shattered first by the great schism of the East from the West, and then by the greater, deeper convulsion of the sixteenth century; needful, salutary as that was, yet perilous in its disintegrating tendencies—seems now but a dream. Sect after sect splits off on almost any pretext of severance from the kingdom of Christ, and each claims to be that kingdom—some rending the robe of Christ, others claiming their own little patches of it as the entire and perfect robe itself—and so the great kingdom of the Gospel is dwarfed and narrowed by each sectarian leader within the petty limits of his school, his party, his following, until the world asks in scornful derision, “What and where is this kingdom of Christ of which you tell us you are, each of you, the representatives and teachers?”

On the other hand, the Gospel, by its definite, dogmatic teaching, by its demand for a belief in a person concerning whose nature and attributes it makes a direct and dogmatic revelation, offends what men are pleased to call the liberal and enlightened spirit of the age—offends that careless skepticism which loves to say it is no matter what our creed may be, provided our life be right; which sneers at dogmas, and denounces creeds as fetters on the liberty of human thought; which would give to every form of religious thought a contemptuous admission to its Pantheon of human opinions, as all alike true, or alike false, and all equally indifferent—a skep-

ticism which, extending from faith to morals, grows daily harder, coarser, more materialistic, more selfishly luxurious, more base and vile, in its undisguised Nature-worship. Against the spirit of the age the teacher of Christianity has to contend now—as earnestly as did its first teachers—for the faith once delivered to the saints. Now, as then, the Christian teacher finds himself, therefore, opposed by, opposed to, those two strong currents of human thought and feeling—the narrowness of the sectarian, the indifference of the skeptic. Now, as then, must he proclaim as against the one, the love of God in all its catholic fullness, and as against the other, the truth of God in all its dogmatic and definite preciseness. Now as then, the preacher is exposed to the temptations inherent in such a position. He is exposed to the temptation to please men rather than to serve them. He is tempted by the desire for popularity, the wish for success, the dread of offense which all preachers, all teachers, are exposed to. And if he rises superior to this, and preaches the Gospel boldly as he ought to speak, he, too, may suffer martyrdom: not the martyrdom of the arena, where the Christian looked his last on a crowd of unpitying faces gloating over his death-agonies; but a scarcely less terrible martyrdom, where the brave, outspoken witness for the truth looks around upon that dread circle of society which surrounds each one of us—and whose frown or smile can awe or tempt the bravest among us—and sees only contempt, hostility, impatient

dislike, and hears the angry cry of denunciation that has in it no indistinct echo of the old cry of "*Christiani ad leones!*"

He has to withstand, too, the subtler, deadlier temptation to make, not himself, but his message popular, to win acceptance for the Gospel by concealing some of its more offensive features; to preach less than the fullness of its catholicity in order to win the sectarian; less than the fullness of its dogmatic truth in order to conciliate the skeptic. He has to incur, too, the risk of the secret sympathy of his own mind and heart with the errors he contends against, the infectiousness of the disease he deals with imperiling the physician. How much, then, does he need the gift of courage and boldness to preach the Gospel as he ought to preach it; how much need has he to ask, as the first Apostle did, "And for me, that utterance may be given to me!"

We ask you this day, in welcoming your pastor to his new position among you, we ask you to offer up your prayers for him that he may faithfully and boldly preach the Word of God. You who attend here during this week, and who may be inclined to listen with something of curiosity and of criticism to the different preachers as they succeed each other, remember that he is to be your teacher and pastor in this place; pray for him that he may be a faithful pastor, a wise and fearless teacher. I am not here to-day to warn or exhort him; that is the duty of him who is set over him, in the Lord,

as his Chief Pastor and Bishop. I am here to-day but to testify to you—and I bear that testimony with a glad and affectionate sincerity—the hearty and sisterly affection with which the Church of England regards that American Church which is represented here to-day; to tell you, our American brethren, how truly and deeply we in England sympathize with you in your trials or your triumphs, your prosperity or your difficulty, and how we rejoice to know that year by year the ties that bind us together are strengthening and multiplying; to tell you how heartily we wish and pray you success in the name of the Lord.

I give, then—I have no right to give pastoral charge or direction to my brother, your pastor in this place—rather would I, placing myself beside him as a brother minister of the Gospel, plead for him with you, for the help of your prayers and your sympathy. Here is surely a place where those difficulties and temptations of which I have spoken specially beset the pastor; here, where the spirit of the mightiest and most imposing form of sectarianism the world has ever known still reaches out, though from a shattered throne, a sceptre of dominion over two hundred millions of the human race; here, where the schisms and divisions of Reformed Christendom are not unknown, in their weakening, hindering effect; here, where even the force of social custom and opinion, intensified by the smallness of the area in which in acts, must be a great and a cruel danger and trial;

here, where the pastor needs assuredly a double measure of wisdom, of faith, of courage ; here we commend your pastor to your love and to your prayers. Pray for him, pray for your pastor that he may preach before you the Gospel of Jesus Christ in all its fullness, in all its truth, boldly as he ought to speak it who speaks for Christ to those for whom Christ has died.

THE CHURCH CATHOLIC.

BY THE RIGHT REVEREND THE LORD BISHOP OF GIB-RALTAR.

MONDAY, *March 27th*, 10 A. M.

“And they shall come from the east, and from the west, and from the north, and from the south, and shall sit down in the Kingdom of God.”—LUKE xiii. 29.

WHEN Christ appeared upon earth, He came not merely to fan into a more vigorous flame the religious affections within the heart of man, nor to make known to the world truths of which it was previously ignorant. He came to found a Kingdom. In one of the earliest notices which we have of His ministry, it is said of Him, that He went about all the cities and villages teaching in the synagogues and preaching the Gospel of the Kingdom. “Repent, for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand,” was the burden of His message, as it had been of His great forerunner. The same message was committed to the Apostles. The Gospel which at their first mission they were charged to preach is called the Gospel of the Kingdom. And so at the close of His public ministry, when Jesus was returning to His Father in heaven, He

delivers this commission to His Apostles, "I appoint unto you a Kingdom, as My Father hath appointed unto Me." To qualify them for this charge, as we are told, Jesus showed Himself alive to His Apostles after His passion by many infallible proofs, "being seen of them forty days, and speaking of the things pertaining to the Kingdom of God."

If we would understand the real nature of that Kingdom which Christ came to establish upon earth, we must read the Sermon on the Mount, and other discourses and parables of our Lord, in which He sets forth its laws and constitution, and shows who are fit to be citizens, what graces they must cultivate, what principles they must embody in their lives. We learn from these passages that it is a society spiritual in its very essence, having its foundation in the heart, thoughts, and will of man, in our moral and spiritual nature. It is no mere earthly organization; though, for the sake of its members who are in the world, it is ever calling such into life, yet it is above and beyond all these. It is a society united by spiritual bonds, and designed for the great spiritual end of introducing the reign of righteousness, purity, truth, and peace upon earth, of reestablishing the throne of God in the heart of man.

The Church of Christ and the Kingdom of Christ are but different names for the same thing. Throughout the New Testament we find the expressions used as synonymous. From this it follows that, whatever attributes are

represented in Holy Scripture as characteristic of Christ's Kingdom, are characteristic also of His Church.

Now, there is one special attribute of this Kingdom, or Church, upon which I desire to dwell to-day. It is that brought before us in the words which I have chosen for my text: "And they shall come from the east, and from the west, and from the north, and from the south, and shall sit down in the Kingdom of God." The Kingdom is here described as a society world-wide in its comprehensiveness. Unlike the kingdoms of this earth, the Kingdom which Christ came to found is not limited, as we in our narrow thoughts are apt to limit it, to any one particular people, to any one particular place, to any one particular time; but is as comprehensive as the human race, coextensive with God's universe. In a word, it is Catholic—Catholic in the widest, fullest, deepest, truest sense of that term.

There is no word which is so often misused as this word catholic. We sometimes hear it applied to the Church of some particular place, as to that Church whose chief bishop resides in this ancient city. We sometimes hear it applied to the Church of some particular time, as to the Church of the middle ages. Men talk of reviving Catholic usage, Catholic tradition, Catholic doctrine; and when we inquire into the meaning of their words, we find that they are speaking of mediæval usage, mediæval tradition, mediæval doctrine. We owe to mediæval days many a saint and worthy, many a magnificent ca-

thedral, many a famous work of art. They were the golden age of monasticism, the golden age of priestly authority; but they were not the golden age of the Church's Catholic life, if of that life purity of faith, spirituality of worship, peace and good-will, judgment, mercy, and truth, are essential elements. A still more remarkable abuse of the term is supplied by the popular parlance of this country. In Italy, at the present day, the word denotes the adherents of a particular political party. Now, as we all know, the word catholic means universal. Thus we speak of the Catholic Epistles of St. Peter, St. James, and St. John, signifying by the term that they are not addressed to particular persons or particular congregations, but to Christians generally, to the whole body of God's people. We speak also of the Catholic Faith, denoting by the phrase those great truths which are accepted by all Christendom, by the universal Church, as distinguished from those particular formulas of belief which individual Churches have deemed it expedient to compile, either in protest against errors by which at any time the truth may have been assailed, or in vindication of doctrines which at any time may have seemed in danger of being forgotten.

Now, in what senses is the term catholic applicable to that spiritual Kingdom which Christ established upon earth?

It is applicable in many senses. In the first place, the Kingdom, or Church, of Christ is Catholic, as being

independent of national differences. The bonds of relationship which unite its members to their Lord, and in Him to one another, being spiritual, depending upon no accidents of place or outward circumstance, but on the state of the heart or will, wherever there is a heart that believes God's truth, a will that obeys God's law, there is Christ's Kingdom. The Kingdom was intended by its Founder to include that whole world for which He died. As He ascended to His home in heaven, He gave His disciples this parting charge : " Go ye and teach all nations, baptizing them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost ; " " Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature. He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved." All members of God's universal family were to be admitted within the inclosure through the one gate of baptism, and on the one condition of professing belief in that Name into which they were baptized.

Again, the Kingdom of Christ is Catholic, as acknowledging no distinction between class and class. We learn from the Gospels that there is a welcome for Zaccheus, who was chief among the publicans and was rich, for the nobleman of Capernaum, for Joseph, the honorable counselor, for Nicodemus, the teacher of Israel; no less was there a welcome for Lazarus, who was laid at the rich man's gate, full of sores, and for the poor widow who cast into the treasury two mites, which were all her living. The king is represented in

the parable as sending forth his servants into the highways and hedges, into the streets and lanes of the city, with the charge that they are to bid as many as they can find, the poor, the maimed, the halt, and the blind, that his house may be filled. There is a welcome within the Kingdom for the waifs and strays which no sect will own, for all who labor and are heavy laden, for the bruised reed and the smoking flax, for the woman of Samaria, for Mary Magdalene, for the humble, broken-spirited publican, for the penitent thief, for the outcast but now reclaimed prodigal, who, having wasted his substance in riotous living, returns in repentance to his Father's house.

It was not at once that the Apostles comprehended the true nature of this catholicity. Though they had been commissioned by their Lord, as He was ascending into heaven, to be witnesses unto Him in Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth, though, in His first sermon on the great day of Pentecost, St. Peter distinctly asserts the universal spread of the Kingdom, taking for his text the prophecy of Joel that, in these last days, God's Spirit should be poured upon all flesh, without reference to age, sex, rank, or nation, yet a special vision was needed to convince the Apostle to the Hebrews that the Church which he was to assist in planting was to be a fellowship for man as man, a fellowship which should receive all comers, asking no questions, allowing no impediments, a fellowship in which none

should be called common or unclean. We read in the Acts of the Apostles how, after the vision, barrier after barrier, which national, social, and religious exclusiveness had erected between man and man, was thrown down, and the way gradually paved for the acceptance of that great principle so constantly urged by St. Paul, that in the Church of Christ there is neither Jew nor Gentile, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female, but all are one in Christ Jesus. All who acknowledge one God as their Father, one Christ as their Redeemer, one Holy Ghost as the spring of their inner life, whatever be the difference of nation, class, or outward circumstance, together form one universal brotherhood, which is the fulness of Him who filleth all in all. The Kingdom is as Catholic as the heart of its Founder, Who was no respecter of persons, but admitted all alike to His presence. It is as comprehensive as that love, the breadth and length, the depth and height of which passeth knowledge.

Christ's Kingdom, again, is Catholic, as confining itself to no single type of character, but including in its collective graces every form of goodness which adorns, elevates, ennobles our common humanity. There is a home there for the glowing impetuosity of a St. Peter, for the loving contemplativeness of a St. John, for the self-sacrificing energy of a St. Paul, for a Mary sitting at the feet of Jesus, for a Martha cumbered with much serving. There is a home there for those who are reso-

lute in defending the right and the true; and for those, also, who cheer desolate hearts with their sympathy, feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, visiting the fatherless.

If you have studied Christ's character, you must have noticed that it combined within itself the womanly heart and the manly brain, gentleness, purity, love, courage, justice, truth. The society which He founded He intended to be an image of Himself. It was to exhibit to the world, in the graces and excellences which different sexes, countries, and times should display, "God's idea of humanity completed." It was to contain the docile, the imaginative, the impressionable. It was to contain also the wise and thoughtful, the brave and resolute, the manly and true. In the varied phases of the conflict which the Kingdom has to wage with evil in the world, different powers and qualities are needed. Each age and country has its special wants and dangers. To arm us for the encounter God calls into life different types of character. But, however much these forms of excellence may differ in outward expression, being all creations of God's Holy Spirit, types of the Divine life, they all find a recognition and welcome in Christ's universal Kingdom.

There have existed from the very earliest days within the pale of Christ's Church, and doubtless will exist until the present scene shall have passed away, different schools of religious thought, sometimes working har-

mönously together, sometimes working apart, and scarcely recognizing each other as brethren. According to differences of nationality, mental disposition, special experience, early training, outward circumstance, men naturally give greater or less prominence to different portions of God's truth. In harmony with her character as Catholic, the Church permits within reasonable limits differences of usage and opinion, such as must exist where liberty is enjoyed, and men are not mere repetitions of one and the same type.

Once more : the Kingdom of Christ is a Catholic or universal Kingdom, as being independent of differences in external polity. With a view to preserve the truths, powers, and privileges with which it is intrusted, the Kingdom of Christ gives birth to many an outward constitution, varying in form according as national character or circumstances vary, yet in its true nature and essence the Kingdom is independent of all mere outward or earthly institutions. They are but the framework, not the spirit. At one time we see the Church repudiated by the powers of the world, at another time we see her made part of a nation's polity. The externals of ecclesiastical government, so far as they have their origin in man, and are not definitely prescribed in Holy Scripture, may be changed by man as his wants and circumstances demand, yet the Church of Christ preserves her continuity under change of outward form. In some countries it is thought that the influence of religion is most widely

spread, the name of God most highly honored, the rights of conscience, both lay and clerical, most safely guarded, when Church and State are blended together into one body politic. Elsewhere men are of a different mind, maintaining that ever since the day when Christianity was accepted as the national religion by Constantine, and the Church enrolled herself among the political powers of the world, she has suffered both in her freedom of action and in her spirituality of character, and that the only way to secure religious liberty either for Churches or for individuals is absolute severance from the civil power. Different as may be our opinions on this question, if we are consistent lovers of liberty, we must allow that each country should be left free to follow that system which accords best with her own distinctive character, and which experience teaches to be for the good of her people.

The Kingdom of Christ is Catholic as covering the whole area of human thought and duty. Whatever be the relation which Church and State may hold to one another in any country, there can be no doubt that the doctrines, principles, and powers, of which the Lord made His Church the depositary, were meant by Him to influence, raise, redeem, and sanctify, the whole life of man, not his moral and spiritual life only, but also that public life in which all loyal citizens have their special parts to take. It is a false spirituality which would confine religion to the sanctity of church and cloister, or to the privacy of

our own homes. Religion is in the widest and fullest sense for life and life's duties. There are Churches in the present day which withdraw more and more from modern interests: stationary themselves, they would prevent their people from advancing; unable to control the thought of the world, they place it under their ban. But, if the Church of Christ be true to her character as Catholic, instead of thus standing aloof from the thought and movement of these modern times, she will endeavor to bring them under her influence; toward the culture and civilization of the world she will assume an attitude of friendly and helpful interest; she will foster the spirit of enterprise, the diffusion of enlightenment, the enthusiasm of progress. In place of curbing those mental powers which God has given to His people, she will seek to call them into free, vigorous, and healthy activity, adapting herself to the wants of each changing age, welcoming light from whatever quarter it may come, and furthering every effort to expand, enlarge, enrich, and elevate the life of mankind. That tendency which prevails in the present day, and is working untold mischief in this very country, of separating human life into two distinct and antagonistic spheres, the religious and the secular, the spiritual and the temporal, the Church and the world, finds no countenance in the teaching of Him Who, when He founded His Kingdom, declared that its principles were to change the principles of the world, like salt preserving it from corruption, like leaven pervading its in-

stitutions, like the mustard-seed gradually spreading and overshadowing the land.

Christ's Kingdom, lastly, is Catholic, as being continuous through all ages. It includes the good of all times, those who are now fighting with evil upon earth, and those who have entered upon their rest in Paradise. It is a fellowship binding heaven and earth together—a brotherhood of manifold diversities, gathering into itself all that earth ever held of good, noble, and true.

In these words I have been unfolding the meaning of that attribute of Christ's Kingdom which we express whenever, as we repeat the Creed, we say, "I believe in the Holy Catholic Church." Let me now set before you, as briefly as I can, the main causes through which the full accomplishment of this ideal of a Catholic Church has been frustrated. They are two in number. Men accustomed to the political forms and associations of an earthly country, have carried their views and habits into the spiritual Kingdom of Christ. We must have, it is urged, the same usages, the same forms and ceremonies, the same system of government. So unspiritual are the minds of mankind, that they find it difficult to apprehend anything purely spiritual. Just as the Israelites rejected God as their King, because He went not forth visibly with their armies to the battle, so a large portion of the Christian world, not content with the unseen governance of Christ, demands that the Church's unity should be exhibited in an earthly visible sovereign,

who should be an infallible oracle, a supreme judge of mankind in all matters of faith and morals, an incarnate representative of God upon earth. Thus the grand attempt is made by Rome to organize all men into one kingdom, under one ecclesiastical system. In the two-fold hope of suppressing heresy and of subjugating that brute force which was deluging Europe with blood, the idea was formed by the greatest of Rome's pontiffs of establishing a sacerdotal monarchy, which should give law to all the temporal powers of the world. The Pope was to be suzerain of Christendom; all kings, princes, and prelates, were to be his liegemen and vassals. He was to be the universal arbiter, with authority to command the arms of all nations to enforce his mandates. A sublime conception! But not the conception that was in the mind of Him Who said, "My Kingdom is not of this world."

The imposition of dogmas on matters left undefined in Holy Scripture has limited to a still greater degree the comprehensiveness of the Church. If ecclesiastics had been content to enforce nothing to be believed as necessary to salvation beyond what can be proved by most certain warrant of Holy Writ, Christendom might still be united. But the attempt has been made to define what is undefinable, to reason upon matters about which we can know nothing except what is expressly revealed. Truths which the spirit of man alone can discern, the heart alone appreciate, have been turned into

hard, precise definitions by the cold, clear, logical faculty ; and the result has been, that divisions and feuds have been created, which even the most sanguine despair of seeing healed. More than this, the Church, forgetful of her Master's spirit, has called down fire from heaven. Eternal condemnation has been denounced on all who fail to accept every statement of her formularies. Eastern and Western Patriarchs for years hurled anathemas at each other, because they could not come to one mind upon a mystery which is among the most abstruse that have ever engaged human thought. The Creed of the largest Church in Christendom has appended to each of its clauses, many of which are not only beyond what is written in God's Word, but are at variance both with its letter and its spirit, the monstrous formula, "If any man think otherwise, let him be accursed ! "

But if this greatest of historical cities calls to mind pretensions by which the catholicity of Christ's Kingdom has been impaired, the solemn service in which representatives of two great sister Churches have just been engaged proclaims that forces are now at work to restore what others have destroyed, to make what others have marred. By the bounty of a gracious Providence England and America have opportunities of extending the Church of Christ, such as have never been given before to any other people. They speak a common tongue, which is known wherever commerce finds its way, and which, in the opinion of many thoughtful minds, promises

to be one day the language not only of the New World, but also of all civilized humanity. The one country is mistress of the seas, the first among industrial and commercial nations, covering the globe with her sons. The sister country has a population which already has reached the number of forty-five millions, and which is increasing with bewildering rapidity. The extent and position of America give her opportunities, which she is not slow to use, of developing national life upon a colossal scale. Already she has won among the first nations of the earth a place second only to England, if second to her, in material prosperity and commercial enterprise. A giant even in her infancy, she is rich with possibilities quite incalculable.

These resources were bestowed upon the two nations not simply for purposes of personal or national aggrandizement. God surely intends that we should employ them to make His Kingdom spread more widely, and strike more deeply into the heart and conscience of mankind. We have to show to the world that a Church need not break with the past, because she lives in the present; need not discard primitive order and discipline, because she upholds the right of private judgment; need not forego her place as part of the one Catholic Church, because she asserts her own independence, and claims to perform her share of the common work in that way which best expresses her individual character. We have to show to the world that a Church

which rests on the old foundation of apostolic usage, which grounds her teaching upon Holy Scripture, which has a Prayer-Book yielding in antiquity to no manual used by any other community, which has a ministry organized on primitive precedent, may yet grow with the world's growth, meet the demands of modern thought, ally herself with progress, travel in company with civilization.

In the development of our Church's Catholic life, the clergy and congregation of this noble house of prayer, which we have just seen consecrated within the walls of Rome, will have an important part to play. May God's Holy Spirit enable you, my brethren in Christ, to perform your part with the zeal, wisdom, courage, and consistency, which befit men who are as a city set upon a hill, and who feel that their acts are scanned by no very friendly eyes! You have the responsibility of showing, in concert with your English brethren, what the principles, doctrines, and worship of our Reformed Church really are, when they are displayed in their true colors. You have the privilege of restoring to Rome a Christianity free from those errors and superstitions which the course of ages has gathered—a Christianity large and tolerant in its charity, pure and dignified in its forms of worship, sound and reasonable in its doctrine—a Christianity like to that which the great Apostle to the Gentiles delivered to the Church of this city during the two years when, as we read, he "preached the Kingdom

of God, and taught those things which concern the Lord Jesus."

If you are faithful in the discharge of this work, the life and enlightenment of which your Church will be the source will not be confined to members of your own communion. By the true doctrine which you preach, and the example of devotion which you set, you may possibly promote a reformation within the Church of Rome herself. You may be the means of dispelling many a darkness, clearing away many a corruption, healing many a breach; and so prove instruments in God's hands for hastening the advent of that day, for which all loyal hearts are yearning, when once more the members of Christ's Catholic Church shall be all of one mind and one heart, united in one holy bond of truth and peace, of faith and charity.

CATHOLIC UNITY.

BY THE REV. LORD PLUNKET.

TUESDAY, March 28th, 10 A. M.

"One God and Father of all."—EPHESIANS iv. 6.

I PURPOSE this morning to speak about the unity which ought to exist among the members of the visible Catholic Church. The subject is beset with many difficulties. From my heart, therefore, I would now take up the key-note so happily struck on last Sunday by the preacher, and ask your secret prayers, dear brethren, for me—even me, also—that I may speak wisely and "boldly, as I ought to speak."

Truth, brethren, is not a picture, to be seen from one side only. Rather it is a statue, which must be gone round about, and surveyed from many points of view, if we are to estimate its full proportions and appreciate its perfect loveliness. This may seem a trite remark; and yet, if this principle had been generally recognized in troublous times gone by, the world would have been saved from much bloodshed—the Church from many a schism!

Take, for example, the great truth embodied in my

text—a truth which underlies every form of religion that deserves the name—the truth of God's Fatherhood. In how many aspects may we not contemplate this eternal verity!

When we look up to God on high as the great Creator and Preserver of mankind, "who hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth"—the God "in whom we live and move and have our being," we need no poet to tell us—our hearts tell it—that "we are His offspring." As members of the great brotherhood of humanity we belong to His family—a family embracing those who are afar off, and those who are near—a family consisting of all, whether just or unjust, upon whom He maketh the blessed rain from heaven to fall—a family with every member of which, it will be found, in that great day, that He has dealt righteously and tenderly, even as a father who pitith his own children. And when we further regard this world-wide love of God the Father for His children in the light of the Gospel, what a new flood of glory then streams in upon that truth! When we remember that God so loved the *world* that He sent His only beloved Son to be the propitiation for the sins of *all*—when we think of Him who thus tasted death for *every man*—and who in the character, as it were, of an elder brother declares that He is not ashamed to call us brethren—when we think, I say, of Him who, by thus taking upon Him our flesh, raised up the whole human family to the un-

speakable dignity of fellowship with Himself as sons of God—oh, then we begin to recognize something more of the deep meaning of those simple words, “one God and Father of all !”

Thus far we have contemplated the great truth of God’s Fatherhood from our standpoint as members of the brotherhood of humanity. Let us now regard the same truth from another point of view—even as members of Christ’s visible Church. Here we find ourselves looking up to God not only as a Father who has created, preserved, and redeemed us, and who, in sending His Son to die for us, has spread out before us for our acceptance glorious promises of a nearer adoption in Him, but also as a Father who has brought us into a new state of covenant relation with Himself. When we look back—as we so often ought to do—on our admission into that Church by baptism, do we not see our heavenly Father visibly signing and sealing in His own appointed rite, before the assembled Church, those promises of adoption which were indeed in one sense ours before, but which till then had not been formally ratified? What though some of us may hesitate to believe that any mystic and sudden transformation of our nature then took place—what though some of us may doubt whether a Father’s angry frown was then in one moment of time exchanged for a Father’s loving smile—what though we may regard our Saviour as having then taken us into His arms—not in order that we might be of His Kingdom—but

because like those whom He embraced on earth we were of His Kingdom already—as to such points, there may perhaps be a difference of opinion. But may we not all look back and join in believing that our heavenly Father then looked down from above upon each one of us, and said, as it were, before the Church and the world at large, “This is my beloved child, in whom I am well pleased !” May we not all thus look back, and teach others to look back, upon that solemn event as the occasion on which we were thus born again, as it were, into a new world of privileges and means of grace, as a day when we were admitted within the doors of that visible Church where a Father provides for his children all that is necessary to sustain their spiritual life ; a Church wherein the Spirit supernaturally enables us “to feed upon Christ in our hearts by faith ” in His Word, and at His appointed Feast ; a Church wherein are to be found milk for babes, strong meat for men, the bread of life for the hungry, the water of life for the thirsty ; and all this freely offered, without money and without price, to every one who will only as a loving child accept it at a Father’s hands !

But, brethren, do all accept these offered blessings ? Do all these children exhibit a spirit of real sonship, and gladly avail themselves of a Father’s gifts ? Alas, that I should have to say it—the many do not ! It is only the few that do ! And it is only they who do that can be said to have appropriated, in all the fullness of its meaning, the unspeakable blessedness of a heavenly Father’s

love. They only can claim to be—not only in name, but in very truth—His children, His true family; yes, I shrink not to add, His *true Church!*

And if this be so, then are we not clearly brought at once to the contemplation of God's Fatherhood from a fresh point of view, even as it is realized by those whose sonship consists in something more than a state of privilege, or show of profession; even by those of whom it is said, "As many as are led by the Spirit, they are the sons of God;" even by those who have so received the spirit of adoption as to be able to cry with upward-yearning hearts, "Abba, Father!" Of these, indeed, alone can it be said, in the full, and therefore true, sense of the word, that they have been born into the family of God. For not only has the gift of sonship been bequeathed to them in common with all mankind by a dying Redeemer—not only has it been sealed to them in common with all the baptized, but through personal faith in that Redeemer the gift has been by them appropriated as their own, and they have thereby become entitled to claim their portion among those of whom it is said, "As many as received Him, to them gave He power to become the sons of God, even as many as believed on His name!"

And this leads us to consider one remaining point of view from which to regard this truth—a standpoint where, if I mistake not, the true child of God will love to linger longest, and whence he will most often rivet

his gaze, as it were, upon a Father's countenance. I speak of that surpassing excellency of fatherly love that reveals itself to the penitent and believing child of God—when separating himself for the while from the din and tumult of controversy without—and ceasing for the moment to perplex himself with questions as to God's dealings with the world, the Church, or the elect, he goes, as it were, all alone into that inner shrine of personal communion with a personal God—even into the presence of the only true Confessor—that secret place of God's pavilion where there is no room for any save the child and the Father, and none other to see or tell what there takes place! Are there none here who know what I mean ; who know what it is—when bowed down beyond measure with the intolerable burden of their shortcomings and misdoings and doubts and perplexities—to go straight into the presence of their God and say, “Father, Father, I have sinned against Heaven and before Thee, make me as one of Thy hired servants!” Are there not some here, I know there are, who at such a moment have realized that overwhelming sense of a Father's forgiving love and tender care which the prodigal must have experienced when, looking up through blinding tears, he saw a father's look of compassion, and felt a father's fond embrace!

And now, brethren, I have made to pass before you some out of the many aspects in which the great truth of the Fatherhood of God may present itself to His

children. Oh, how good a thing it would be, would it not, if we were to accustom ourselves to survey this truth from these many points of view! Then indeed might we think of God's fatherly love for all mankind without adopting the theories of the latitudinarian or the universalist. Then might we recognize to the full those promises of a closer sonship which were signed and sealed to us in baptism, as well as those further tokens of a Father's care which are provided for us within the visible Church, without the danger of lapsing into sacramentalism or formalism. Then might we contemplate the special love of the Father for those who are led by His Spirit to make those privileges their own, without investing that Father with the attribute of capricious favoritism, or appalling our minds with the thought of a ghastly fatalism. Then, too, might we realize fearlessly the blessed consciousness of our own personal sonship in Christ, without allowing such a conviction to degenerate into a form of mean and selfish individualism.

But my special motive in having thus, even at such length, dwelt upon the manifold aspect of this heaven-born truth, is the desire to apply it to the question upon which I must speak in the short time which still remains at my disposal—the unity, I mean, which should prevail among God's children regarded in one of these aspects—namely, as members of Christ's visible Church. That this is a question to which such a corrective needs

specially to be applied I shall, I think, be able very clearly to prove.

Were I, for example, to advocate the cause of Church unity in such a manner as to lead you to ignore that wider brotherhood which binds together all mankind as children of a common father ; were I so to concentrate your attention upon the privileged circle of the visible Church as to withdraw your sympathies from those who, alas ! are still without its doors—but for whom, nevertheless, Christ died—I should be only telling you half the truth, and might end, perhaps, by insulating and sectarianizing the noblest outgoings of your hearts. But when I remind you that one of the chief and most constraining motives for desiring this exhibition of brotherly love among professing Christians is to be found in the hope that those who are without may be compelled again to say—as was said of old—“ See how these Christians love one another,” and may with God’s blessing be tempted even by this spectacle of our unity to enter in and taste for themselves those privileges of sonship which belong to them as to us, but which in their ignorance or obstinacy they have never as yet claimed as their own—surely, I say, when thus representing the cause of Church unity, as I am bound to do, I invest it with a character not of heartless sectarianism, but of true catholicity.

But, again, were I to urge the necessity for unity within the visible Church in such a manner as to oblit-

erate the distinction between a merely outward profession and an inward spiritual life; were I thus to minimize the contrast between the false and the true, and to divert men's minds from seeking an entrance for themselves and others, not merely within the number of baptized Christians, but within the inner circle of God's truly believing children; were I thus to advocate unity, I should again be so mutilating truth and robbing it of its fair proportions as almost to transform it into mischievous error.

But when I remind you that our heavenly Father, who is very Love Himself, must rejoice to behold even its wavering and imperfect image, wherever and among whomsoever it may be found here below, surely I am supplying a special motive for those who have received the spirit of adoption to strive earnestly to further a result which must be so dear to Him. And when I further remind you that one of the chief objects even of external unity in its mission of love is to bring together many who may have hitherto sullenly stood aloof, and thereby to break down hateful prejudices, and soften unforgiving hearts, and dispel groundless misapprehensions; and when I add that at such a time the true child of God has a special opportunity for winning over the merely outward professor to a knowledge of the deeper realities of spiritual experience; when, in fact, I ask you to contemplate *the close relationship of outward unity to inward life*—then I cannot help thinking that I

have said enough to prove that Christian union within the visible Church has an import which the true sons of God should be the last to ignore, and a power which they should be the first to utilize!

Brethren, the services which are now being held in this newly-consecrated house of God, and in which I am privileged to take part, bear witness to a noble desire on the part of the Protestant Episcopal Church of America to further, with God's help, a spirit of unity such as that which I have just described, among the members of Christ's Catholic Church. Three separate branches of that Church—the Church of England, the Church of Ireland, and the Episcopal Church of Scotland—have all been invited to unite for a season with the Protestant Episcopal Church of America in that best of all fellowships—a fellowship of prayer, and worship, and thanksgiving.

In the Preface to the American Prayer Book it is well said that "it is a most invaluable part of that blessed liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free, that in His worship different forms and usages may without offence be allowed, provided the substance of the Faith be kept entire." Acting upon this principle, our American brethren have assumed that the divergencies of form or usage which may exist in the ritual or government of the several Churches thus taking part in these special services are not such as ought to alienate the sympathy of any one of these Churches from the others, or to place

a barrier in the way of the most cordial intercommunion between them all.

This, brethren, is the true spirit of catholicity—and, in the results which will, I trust, flow from this effort, they who have been led to show such a spirit will doubtless find their reward. To some of those, in this city, who watch these services from without, and who may have been hitherto accustomed to identify Christian worship with an outward show of sensational and superstitious pageantry appealing to the ear or the eye rather than to the head or to the heart, the spectacle of a sober, devout, reasonable service of prayer and praise with all that scriptural and primitive purity, that chasteness of beauty and dignity of simplicity which characterize the ritual of this newly-consecrated church, may perchance awaken the inquiry, whether there may not be, after all, some halting-place between the religion of the Church of Rome and the ghastly alternative of a godless creed; while to others who may perhaps have been accustomed to identify unity and catholicity with that system of rigid procrustean uniformity into which unwilling minds are forced to mould themselves by the iron rule of the Papacy, and who have perhaps been led to believe that anything like unity or catholicity on the part of the Reformed Churches of Christendom is simply an impossibility, the spectacle of essential unity and large catholicity displayed in this voluntary union of the members of many Churches in these solemn acts of common worship cannot but give

rise to serious, perhaps to startling thoughts. God only knoweth what questionings may thus be awakened in many anxious yet still unsatisfied hearts !

And we, dear brethren, the members of the several Churches who have witnessed these services from within —must not we feel that it has been good for us, and for the cause of Christian unity, that we have thus been drawn together in bonds of holy fellowship ?

For my own part, as a member of the Church of Ireland, I do, indeed, earnestly desire to tender to my American brethren, and more especially to the pastor of this congregation—whose indefatigable zeal and wide-reaching sympathies have done so much to bring about this happy result—my warmest thanks for this act of generous and unsolicited good-will. Nor is this the first exhibition of sisterly love on the part of the American Church for which the Church of Ireland has reason to be grateful. Ever since the time when we were first called upon to confront the dangers and difficulties that followed upon our separation from the state, the sympathy of the American Church has never seemed to falter, her interest in our proceedings has never seemed to flag. Even when at times in unexpected quarters our motives have been misapprehended and our actions criticised, the American Church has shown an intelligent appreciation of the exigencies of our position, and has been ever ready to give us credit, even more perhaps than we deserved, for our endeavors to meet and overcome them.

As a proof of what I say, and indeed as a striking type of that spirit of unity and sympathizing love that ought to bind together the Churches of Christ, I cannot refrain from quoting an address (with which some of you may perhaps not be familiar) which was received from the American Bishops and House of Deputies by our Church, shortly after her separation from the state. I quote it the more gladly, because it refers to the history and character of my Church in terms which from my lips might seem to savour of boasting, but which as coming from others I rejoice for the honour of my Church to make more widely known. The address to which I refer runs as follows: "We beg to assure our beloved brethren that we have watched with solicitude and fraternal sympathy the dangerous crisis through which recent events have obliged them to pass, and feel that seldom have graver difficulties or more painful trials been imposed upon any branch of the Church Catholic. The American Church regards it as an occasion of devout thankfulness to God that they (the Church of Ireland) were enabled by the Holy Spirit to advance thus far, and with so much harmony, in effecting the permanent reorganization of the Church. The Americans are gratified, moreover, to recognize the fact that the Church of Ireland, while earnestly witnessing to the Faith once delivered to the saints, and adhering to the primitive and apostolical principles which form the common inheritance and bond of union, has adopted a form of

ecclesiastical organization so nearly allied to the Church in America. The Americans do not fail to recognize the wisdom of retaining the ancient historic name, 'the Church of Ireland,' a name recalling great memories of the past, and justifying the hope of an auspicious future. They cannot doubt that the Church which was the last among the Western Churches to surrender its primitive rights and privileges of self-government will be found equal to the responsibilities of its present position, and will, notwithstanding embarrassments arising from the laws of its temporalities, be able to strengthen the things which remain, and to recover the influence which once made it illustrious as a defender of evangelical truth and apostolical order among the Churches of Europe.

"To these brotherly greetings are joined fervent prayers that the Church in America and the Church in Ireland being united in one communion and fellowship of Christ, may be workers together with God for the advancement of His glory, and the salvation of men through Jesus Christ our Lord."

Glad I am, my American brethren, to have this opportunity of thanking you face to face for these kindly words of trust, encouragement, and affection—so cheering to us in our hour of trial—and glad too am I to add that the prayers and hopes expressed in your message seem, thank God, to be even already meeting with their fulfilment. The dangers that have necessarily surrounded our path are becoming less and less day by day. We

have but little fear now of disruption ; we do not dread a collapse from want of Church funds. A spirit of mutual concession has saved us from the one, a spirit of growing self-sacrifice has saved us from the other. The Irish Church has not assumed the attitude of a mendicant in her distress. She has not appealed to other Churches for help. She has relied on the voluntary efforts of her own members, and thank God the response has been such as to inspire much hope for the future. During the five years that have followed the withdrawal of state aid from our Church, her members have contributed to her Sustentation Fund an average annual sum of little less than a quarter of a million sterling. Nor have other efforts for the welfare of the Church been allowed to suffer loss because of this entirely new demand on the resources of her members. It is only a few months since, that in the Diocese of Cork—one of the poorest of our dioceses—a sum of thirty thousand pounds was contributed toward the restoration of its cathedral, making in all a sum of seventy thousand pounds received for that sole purpose within the last few years, and raising the total amount of funds given in behalf of cathedral restoration generally throughout Ireland, by Irish Churchmen during the last half-century, to a sum of little less than half a million sterling. Were such efforts for restoring the outward fabric unaccompanied with zeal for the promotion of the inward spiritual life, I should esteem them of little

worth. But, believing as I do that in this case the two works go hand-in-hand, and tend each to help and not to hinder the other, I commend these tokens of active life to the notice of those who may have heard that Irish Churchmanship was at a low ebb. And to you especially, my dear American brethren, who have prayed and hoped on our behalf in our day of trouble, I make known these facts with justifiable pride and deep thankfulness, in order that you may know that your prayers have not been unheard nor your hopes unfulfilled.

And now I should much like, did time permit, to dwell at some length upon a far larger extension of this principle of Christianity than even that which is so happily evidenced in the case of those four branches of the Church Catholic which are at present taking part in the special opening services of this house of God. I should wish to call your attention to that grand effort for reunion among the separated Churches of Christendom, which has found expression in the recent conferences at Bonn, and which seems worthy to cast a sunset glory on the declining years of that noble theologian, Dr. Döllinger, by whom mainly it has been set on foot. I should like especially to grapple fully with some popular misapprehensions which seem to me to prevail as to the basis, the form, and the extent of the unity, aimed at by this effort. Time will, however, permit me to make but one remark as to this deeply interesting movement.

Judging from the terms of Dr. Döllinger's invitation to the last conference, as well as from the proceedings of that conference, at which I was present, I have arrived at the following conclusions. I believe the *basis* of unity aimed at by the conference to consist, not, as some suppose, in the unsubstantial dream of some hitherto unformulated *consensus* of patristic theology, but simply in the well-known definitions of that ancient Confession of Faith which once constituted the sole bond of union between the Churches of Christendom, and which might, I believe, do so again, namely—the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed, as it stood before the introduction of the *Filioque* clause. Again, I believe that the *form* of unity aimed at by this conference is intended to take the shape, not, as some suppose, of doctrinal fusion, but rather of fraternal confederation and loving intercommunion; and, lastly, I believe that the *extent* of unity is intended, not, as some suppose, to be measured by Episcopalian limits, or by any similarly narrow bounds, but is meant to reach far enough to embrace all, of whatever denomination, who will only agree to take, as a common basis of union, the creed to which I have already referred. If I be correct in this view of the conference, then I believe the attempt to be in a right direction, and that it will not lack a blessing from above. It has tended not a little already to enlarge the views and widen the sympathies of many who have watched or taken part in its proceedings. It has awakened in many hearts yearnings

after peace and good-will among men that can scarcely fail to find for themselves some ultimate expression. It has thus done a good work already in the past. It has, I trust, a better work still to do in the future. It has for its object the promotion of that unity within Christ's Catholic Church which ought, I think, to be so dear to every child of God, and, therefore, as it seems to me, we ought from our hearts to wish it success.

And now, brethren, I may never again occupy this pulpit, or again enter within this house of God, but earnestly do I pray that the blessing of God may rest upon both the pastor and the congregation of this church in the long years to come, that to him utterance may indeed be given to make known the mystery of the Gospel, and to speak boldly in the name of his blessed Master, as he ought to speak; and that to you, as you hear the Word preached and offer your sacrifices of praise and thanksgiving, may be given by your heavenly Father the spirit of wisdom and revelation in the knowledge of Him, that you may indeed know what is the hope of His calling, and what the riches of the glory of His inheritance in the saints. Earnestly, too, do I pray that the spirit of unity may ever prevail among those who may hereafter be gathered within these walls. May the spectacle of this unity tempt many to come from without and join the family of worshipers within; and may they who shall be thus joined together in unity here below enjoy at last the perfect consummation of unity above, as

members of that one beatified and thenceforward invisible family of saints to whom, throughout the endless ages, it shall be given to know, as they never knew before, the full meaning of those blessed words, "one God and Father of all!"

THE WITNESS OF ST. PAUL IN ROME.

BY THE REV. H. C. POTTER, D. D.

WEDNESDAY, March 29, 1876.

"And the night following the Lord stood by him, and said, Be of good cheer, Paul; for as thou hast testified of me in Jerusalem, so must thou bear witness also at Rome."—*ACTS xxiii. 11.*

THESE are somewhat discouraging words with which to raise a man's despondent spirits. As you will remember, they follow that fearless and impassioned argument which the Apostle had made in behalf of his message and his Master, and made, as it seemed for the moment, in vain. Standing there in Jerusalem, on the castle-stairs, he had told his own story, and with it had declared the nature of his Lord's commission; and, no sooner had he proclaimed that that commission called him to preach the Gospel to the Gentiles, than men who, till that moment, had listened to him with absorbed attention, spurned him from their presence, declaring that it was not fit that he should live.

We know the rest: how, when he is summoned from this arraignment before the mob to appear at the bar of the Sanhedrim, he opens his lips before what ought

to have been that cooler and more impartial tribunal to have them closed with an insult and a blow. We know how, by one chance word of his, his examination before the council is converted into a fight so fierce between its two opposing parties, that "the chief captain, fearing lest the Apostle should be torn in pieces of them," snatches him away from Pharisees and Sadducees alike, and locks him in a dungeon in the castle. Have we ever thought of his reflections there? Ah! how hard he had tried to bring his countrymen to understand him! With what consummate wisdom, with what exhaustless patience, with what rare and singular blending of winning candor and delicate reserve had he spoken his message! Well, as he thought it all over—as his thin and restless fingers absently pressed the lips, still bruised and bleeding, it may be, with the blow which no brutal foreigner, but an Israelitish hand had dealt him—how do you think he estimated the situation? Did this look much like success? Were these the victories which the Gospel was to achieve? Was he never to open his mouth for that Master whom he loved with such ardent and passionate devotion without rousing the fires of human resentment, and kindling anew the dying embers of a sectarian animosity? It is easy to say that the Apostle had counted the cost beforehand, and understood that his preaching would provoke official opposition and personal insult. I presume he had; but I imagine that he had some human sensibilities to be wounded and cast down, and I

venture to think that we do not understand him any better, but rather worse, by lifting him in our ordinary conceptions of him to a pedestal where no disheartening experiences could touch or depress him. And so I think that just at this point he may easily have been profoundly disheartened. And what was there in the message that came to him, when that night the Lord stood by him, to cheer and reassure him? "Be of good cheer, Paul, for as thou hast testified of Me in Jerusalem, so must thou bear witness also in Rome."

The words present the two imperial cities in suggestive contrast. We have seen what Jerusalem was, and that of which the events of this twenty-third chapter of the Acts do not directly remind us may readily be recalled. It is the sixtieth year of the Christian era. Israel is a province of Rome, and Jerusalem is a conquered capital. Here and there the message of the Cross has won a handful of disciples, but on the whole Judaism is as haughty, as scornful, as unrelenting in its animosity to the truth of Christ, as when it nailed the Saviour to the cross. Nay, the loss of their civil power seems only to have made the Israelitish priesthood more resolute and more tenacious in the maintenance of their national faith. If they drew their sacerdotal cordon round a more contracted circle of sovereignty, they maintained those religious peculiarities which that cordon inclosed with a pertinacity all the more inflexible. There is nothing grander in apostolic history than those two defenses of the Apos-

tle's which immediately precede the text. And yet how impotent they seemed to have been ! The man has spoken with his whole heart in his message, and with his whole soul, eager, nay, on fire with his lofty purpose, looking out of his eyes. And the end of it is the wild clamor of a mob ; and, a little later, the infuriated dissensions of rival sects. It is at such a moment that he is bidden to be of good cheer—of good cheer, as he lies there in a felon's cell, bound and smitten because, as he had testified of Christ at Jerusalem, so must he bear witness of Him at Rome. Verily, as I began by saying, these are somewhat strange words with which to raise a man's despondent spirits.

For, if we know what Jerusalem was in the year of our Lord 60, we know equally well what Rome was. It was midway in the reign of Nero. Stained as were both emperor and court with crime, there was as yet no decadence of Rome's imperial power. The riches that she had snatched from the coffers of conquered nations still glittered in her palaces, and went to enrich her senators and captains. There had been great cruelty in her conquests, but there was still splendid organization in her armies, and not yet wholly decayed or impotent were those great ideas of law as regulating private license and dominating individual caprice, which had done so much to lift her into her place as mistress of the world. It is true that her people were more tolerant of religious diversities than the Jew, but it was the toleration of

contempt, or, at least, the liberality of indifferentism. In the Pantheon were the deities of every land and the shrines of every faith, and, if he could eare to, the Apostle knew that he would be permitted to rear there an altar even to the despised Nazarene. But none knew better than this trained Hebrew scholar—pupil sometime at the feet of Gamaliel—that the teacher who should hint that the deities of the Pantheon were to yield all alike to the incomparable sovereignty of the Man Christ Jesus, would be hooted for his presumption, if he were not laughed at for his infatuation.

And yet this very task it is that is presented to him to cheer him amid the discouragements of that other task amid whose sore discouragements we find him !

Whatever may seem to have been the strangeness of such a message, we know well that it did not fail of its effect. The greater, harder task that opened before the Apostle, instead of daunting, seems only to have inspired him. He may have been disheartened as he lay down to sleep within the castle-walls, but, though he woke next morning to learn of a conspiracy whose successful accomplishment would have brought to him a speedy rest from his labors, yet with characteristic energy he defeats the plot and makes ready for his journey to Rome. And why? Ah! why, but because he reminds himself, even as in that midnight vision his Master Himself had reminded him, that

he is not doing his own work but God's work ; not sent to bear witness of Paul, but to teach and to preach Jesus Christ and Him crucified. What mattered it what became of himself, or of his words or labors or whole ministry ? He was not inaugurating a new school of Pauline philosophy, or gathering a new sect of Pauline disciples. He might preach to unwilling ears in Rome even as he had in Jerusalem ; and his Master's message, instead of winning assent, might continue to provoke resentment. But his calling was simply to bear witness, and He whose message he proclaimed would take care of His own truth and win for it acceptance in His own time and way. Did He bid him bear that message to still unfriendlier shores, and to testify of the Cross to still more alienated peoples ? That call *was* an inspiration, no matter how hopeless the outlook. If God had other work for him to do, his it was to do it with a trustful and undaunted heart. The words recalled him from himself and his discouragements to his Master and His message. They reminded him whose messenger he was, and with whose truths he was intrusted.

And that consciousness, alike profound and indwelling, was at once the spell of his power and the secret of his success. Need I remind you how in a few short years the whole face of things was changed, alike in that capital which he was now leaving, and in that other and mightier capital to which he was sent ? Need I remind you how in a little while there came to be saints

even in "Cæsar's household"—that Cæsar whose vices were even then so rank as to scandalize the mobs whom he diverted? Need I tarry to show you how, next to the mighty power of the ministry of the Master Himself, there is no single influence so wide-reaching, so potential, so marvelously transforming, as the influence of Paul the Apostle in all the history of primitive Christianity? As a few years later they led the aged Israelite without the walls along that Ostian highway whose earth who, here this morning, has not trod with a tenderer reverence because of the martyr's memory, his Roman executioners thought they were putting an end to a troublesome enthusiast and to a contemptible and insignificant sect. And yet, already had the Apostle's witness to his Lord struck deep such roots as shook, ere long, the very foundations of the empire itself. In less than three centuries Rome was ruled by a Christian sovereign, and the banners of the empire, whether they waved in Jerusalem or in Rome, were blazoned with the image of the cross. In the spirit in which he, this great Apostle to the Gentiles, had labored, other men caught up the standard which fell from his dying hand and bore it forward to still wider and larger conquests. Read the story of the men, ay, and of the women, who fell in yonder amphitheatre, and see how this one solitary idea of their high calling as **WITNESSES** for Christ conquered their fears and steadied their courage to the bitter end! And this, this it was that men could not misunderstand

nor ignore. Who was this Galilean Divinity who could inspire such discipleship and draw to His despised standard such saintly heroism? And so it came to pass that, step by step, indifference gave way to curiosity, and curiosity to interest, and interest to personal faith and absolute devotion. Men lost their personality in Christ, and by the indwelling power of that divine life which made the Apostle himself forever to say, "Not I, but Christ which dwelleth in me," they bore such witness to their Lord as won the world, wherever they went, to bow at their Master's feet.

Happy would it be if we who sit here this morning had, as we turn over the pages of Christian history, nothing else to remember! But Jerusalem and Rome still stand to invite the feet of the pilgrim, and to challenge the inquisitiveness of the student of history. And what can we say of the witness which they bear to-day to Him to whose name the great Apostle once so fearlessly bore testimony within their walls? How have they cherished and preserved that truth which Paul once preached to them, and which in other days found at length such wide and eager welcome? Alas! the contrast with which they greet us to-day is as painful as it is instructive. It is but a few weeks since it was my fortune to find myself for the first time in Jerusalem, and to thread with reverent curiosity its ancient streets. There are others, I doubt not, here, who have made the same pilgrimage, and looked upon the same scenes. If

so, let me ask you if there is any sadder spectacle than that ancient city, once the home of the Master and His disciples, hallowed as the scene of His mighty works and of His mightier death, given up to-day to the religion of the Moslem and the dominion of the Turk? Yes, there is a sadder sight there even than this; and it is the sight of those contending Christian sects whom a sneering Mohammedanism holds back oftentimes, with force of arms, from tearing each other in pieces, and whose shameless rivalries and dissensions profane alike the birthplace and the sepulchre of their common Lord. Where, we ask in shamefacedness and despair, as we wend our way among those scenes which supremely the Master has hallowed by His presence, are the evidences of that earlier devotion which counted all as lost for Christ, and had no other aspiration than to bear its daily witness to His honor? Alas, we know now how, long ago, that simpler and single devotion died out of the Church of Jerusalem even as it did in so many others of the Churches of the East. We know now how selfish ambitions and a passion for personal aggrandizement usurped, in the hearts of prelates and priests and people, that other and heaven-born passion for the glory of Christ and His Gospel which burned in the heart of Paul. We know now how, when in the seventh century Sophronius, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, surrendered the holy city to the Moslem Caliph,¹ he found only an old

¹ See Irving's "Mahomet and his Successors," chap. xviii.

man seated on the ground eating dried dates and drinking only water—a man having but one single ambition, and that to win converts to the faith of Mohammed; and we know, too, how then too late he realized that Mohammedanism had conquered Christianity by snatching from it its own weapons of supreme devotion to a leader, and of self-forgetful sacrifices for his sake. From that day to this, as we all know, amid whatever varying fortunes, the aspect of Jerusalem has not greatly changed. Christ is still a stranger to the vast majority of its people, and His name at best a jest or a byword upon their lips.

And if it is thus to-day in Jerusalem, how is it to-day in Rome? God forbid that I should use this place or these moments to call hard names or to bring any railing accusation against those of whatever faith who profess and call themselves Christians? But where, dear friends, shall we look in this Rome of to-day for that earlier and loftier devotion which, among the converts of Paul the Apostle, burned and glowed at the name of Christ? Where shall we look for that single and supreme love for Him which would allow to no other, above all no mere creature alone, to usurp that honor which belongs to Him? Where shall we look for a priesthood and a people with no thought of ecclesiastical aggrandizement, and no impulse but of love for the souls of men? Where shall we look for the daily manifestation of that one supreme truth, which, as it was central to the preaching of

the Apostle, must needs be central to every living Church —the truth that the aim of a Christian life is not any selfish achievement, but simply to bear its clear and steadfast witness to that Lord who hath bought it with His blood?

If we fear lest we might look in vain for such a manifestation elsewhere in this ancient capital, let us see to it that we do not look in vain for it here. We, who have reared this holy house to God's honor, and consecrated it under the name of His latest called but noblest Apostle, let us not forget that its presence in these streets is an impertinence, and its costliest adornments an empty mockery, unless here there is manifested a single and supreme desire to bear a ceaseless testimony to the name and work of Christ. For this, and for this only, if I understand their aims, have Americans reared this temple and given it to their Lord. Not to gratify any merely national pride, not to achieve any merely sectarian triumph, not to secure a safe retreat from within which to hurl either taunt or defiance at Christians of other whatsoever name, but simply, here, to witness for their Lord, have they who have toiled and they who have given up-builded these hallowed walls. And one who is but a stranger here may at least venture to offer the prayer that no other or less worthy aspiration may ever find a place within them!

This is ST. PAUL's Church. Oh, may the spirit of

Paul be evident in every act performed, and heard in every word that shall be spoken here; may no acrimoniousness of partisan clamor ever find utterance here; may no narrowness of vision nor selfishness of aim shut out from the sight of priest or of people here the one solitary figure of a crucified and risen Christ; and may the services which shall be said in this place, and every sermon which shall be preached here, witness to the infinite love and compassion of that Christ in a language which cannot be mistaken—a language of yearning tenderness, and yet of unsparing truthfulness—a language of courageous directness, and yet of ceaseless wisdom!

Surely, it is a happy augury that this Church is to bear the name of the great Apostle to the Gentiles; for who among the noble army of evangelists and apostles who laid the first foundations of Christ's Church has illustrated an energy so untiring, a purpose so undaunted, and, above all, a wisdom so profound? I think of him standing upon Mars Hill amid the rival divinities of classic Greece; and there, instead of scoffing at the idolatry which greeted him, recognizing with Christ-like tenderness and with a singular and high-bred courtesy the groping aspirations which, even there, were feeling after God if, haply, they might find Him. Something of such a spirit, something of such delicate discrimination, such large-hearted sympathy, one may surely venture to pray for in behalf of him who shall stand in this

place and minister at yonder altar. For, after all, the responsibilities, in this age and supremely in this ancient city, of one who is called here to dispense the Word and Sacraments of the Master, are neither slight nor small. It is an age of restlessness and inquiry. It is a land where, just in proportion as faith has been challenged to yield its most blind assent, there are decaying belief and increasing doubt.

Would to God, therefore, that from these walls there might go forth, and that, too, not only in our Anglo-Saxon speech, but in the ancient tongue of this ancient people, a new message of love and of life to souls that are now groping in the dark ! Would to God that we Americans, who owe to Rome with her treasures of art and her wealth of Christian antiquities so vast, and, as yet, so utterly unrequited a debt, might pay it back to this land and this people, by giving to them the treasure of the saving and transforming Gospel of a living and compassionate Christ !—You have seen, my brother, the visible and substantial rewards of your labors in the events of the past week. May they be but the earnest and beginning of yet nobler and more enduring rewards which are yet to come ! Because of the witness which this church shall bear to Christ and His truth, may multitudes now groping in ignorance or clouded by superstition come to know the transforming power of a pure and scriptural faith, and the comfort of simple and child-like trust in a living and personal Christ ! In this free

kingdom, where, at last, the principle of religious liberty has won such generous recognition, may God make this a free church, its doors wide open to all sorts and conditions of men, its every ministration holding forth none other than that truth which makes men free indeed!

P R A Y E R.

BY THE RIGHT REVEREND WILLIAM HOBART HARE,
D. D., BISHOP OF NIOBRARA.

THURSDAY, *March 30, 1876.*

"He spake a parable unto them, to this end, that men ought always to pray, and not to faint."—LUKE xviii. 1.

THIS sacred edifice, erected in the name of a reformed faith, has asked for, and has found in several of the preachers who have preceded me, voices to speak in behalf of doctrine, discipline, and worship, historical and churchly, and, at the same time, simple, and suited to the day.

Consecrated in the presence of representatives of the English, Irish, and American Churches, it has wished to proclaim, and lips have been ready to be its mouth-piece, that the people who constitute what is now the dominant race upon both sides of the Atlantic have unity in faith and love.

Its pulpit, knowing that this is preëminently the day when vigorous appeals to the mind, and heart, and conscience, are needed, has found a voice to express its wish that utterance may be given unto the preacher, that he

may open his mouth boldly to make known the mystery of the Gospel.

To-day, the sacred edifice rises up before my mind as the *House of Prayer*. Its lofty nave and aspiring arches speak to me of the upreachings of the human soul, and unite with the solemn act of self-consecration¹ which we are to witness here, in asking expression for some words regarding that exercise which is the secret and the joy of every consecrated life, and of which this building, we hope, will always be a helper and a home—*prayer*. While the noblest of themes, it is one upon which the humblest may speak, and appropriately, therefore, falls to me.

1. What an interesting soliloquy—also a dialogue, for every single soul is twofold, and can talk with itself—we often carry on within us, on this subject of prayer!

“Pray,” says the better spirit in us.

“What is the use of praying?” say the world and the flesh within us. “We see no one to pray to.”

“No one to pray to?” replies the spirit. “Matter was its own creator, then, was it? And when self-created matter was lying about in wild confusion, it came to pass that some of its particles, simply by a happy accident, fell together in an order and a mode of union which we now call beasts; while other particles, by a more felicitous accident, happened into what we now term men. Or, instead of God, the Beginning and

¹A confirmation.

Maker of all things, there was once nothing in vast vacancy but a germ of all things, which, in its immense loneliness, of itself (for there was no God) evolved out of itself a something better than itself, which something evolved out of itself something better than itself; and so on, endlessly, each consecutive product gaining on its predecessor, until a vast world of matter, without intelligent guidance, came to be; and then some matter, of itself improving on the rest, came to be organic matter; and organic matter, getting ahead of itself, appeared as animate matter; and animate matter blindly groped its way, without an intelligent guide, nay, without there ever having been such a thing as thought, or affection, or will before, into all the sublime ideas of the ages, into the soaring fancy of the poets, the majestic reasonings of Bacon and Newton, and the moral conceptions and unselfish love of Jesus! The hypothesis is outrageous. It is an affront to my common-sense thus to maintain that matter should create intelligence, that what does not know should create a power to know. Nothing can be *evolved* that was not first *involved* my mind affirms.

"The wonderful order and beautiful sequences about me lead me habitually to a sense of an author. I am surrounded by a vast array of art and genius (houses, parterres, machinery), and I know that they are the production of human *thought* and *will*. I am also a spectator of an array of things like these in their order, but vastly greater and more wonderful—the returning

seasons, the symmetrical growth of vegetation, the roll of the planets. Is there anything in the sky above, or in the earth beneath, or in the water under the earth, to confront with a denial the inference of my soul that these more wonderful phenomena are the production of a superior thought and will, in other words, of God?

"The universal *heart* protests against all atheism. I have stood beneath the solitary ruins of Segeste and of Paestum; I have sat on the Acropolis, under the simple majesty of the Parthenon; I have penetrated softly the gloomy grandeur of the temples of the Nile; I have gazed in the twilight upon the temples which surround the Roman Forum; I have tracked the labyrinth of the Catacombs, and listened as the skeletons there spoke to me of men who, by a grand moral revolution, swept away the old voluptuousness, and made all life throb with a new impulse and meaning; and then from the bowels of the earth I have gone and stood upon a lonely hill-top, and in the stillness of a starlit night have weighed well how all these different and far-distant scenes roll up an overwhelming testimony that in every clime, age after age, the grandest efforts—physical, mental, and moral—of man have been inspired by, and built up upon, faith in God. Sooner in that silence could I deny myself than say, 'There is no God.' Visionary am I because I believe in and look out for the invisible? So men called the young Columbus as he sat at Genoa and gazed after

an unseen world out beyond the western sea. But there was an unseen world, and there *is* an *intelligent cause*. By His will all things were created and made. By Him all things consist. What His mode of creation was, whether by successive creations, or by development, or by evolution, I know not. Whatever His mode, it is sublimely true. ‘He spake, and it was done: He commanded, and they were created.’ I pray to Him.”

But still the soliloquy continues: “What is the use of praying?” insinuate the flesh and world within us, perhaps, some other day. “God, if He exist, is not near enough to hear us.”

“God is shut up within some particular part of His dominions, is He, then,” replies the spirit, “as we shut a lion in a cage? He can be measured as we measure oats in a bushel, or cloth by the yard! There is something akin to the immeasurable even in man who wearies, hungers, thirsts, and dies. The orator, from his place upon the platform, lays his finger upon the heart of the hall-boy. See him stand and listen entranced at the distant door. The popular general, sitting on his steed upon the hill-top, breathes in every officer and soldier of the hundred thousand who compose his command. You cannot confine a *man* to a spot. Nay, I know that I, my conscious self, a spirit, so penetrate my material body that my varying thoughts glisten in my eyeball and my feelings play about my mouth, and my invisible self is

conscious of the slightest impression upon the tip of its outstretched little finger. Why may not every part of Nature be in as real communication, though in some other manner, with the Great Mind, the invisible God, as any part of my body is with my invisible mind? God's majesty is so great, Scripture teaches, that He filleth all things with His presence. If we ascend into heaven, He is there; if we go down to Hades, He is there. He is about our path, about our bed, and is acquainted with all our ways."

"But what is the use of praying?" retort the world and flesh. "God will not attend to our little wants."

"God thinks it beneath Him to care for us, does He? Nay, if it is beneath Him to care for us, it was beneath Him to make us. The universal sense of man teaches a different lesson. Travel with the Arab over the silent plain, and at the hour of evening prayer you will see him alight from his dromedary, spread his mat, bend his knees, and bow his head to his God. Sit with the wild red-men of America in council in the wig-wam, and, as they pass round the pipe of peace, you will see a warrior solemnly puff the smoke from his mouth, and say, 'I smoke to God.' Had you supped with Greeks in the glory of their civilization and with Romans in the height of theirs, you would have seen them pause, as, before they ate, they poured out libations to their present God; eat with Christians, and you will mark the hush as they give thanks to theirs. And

now, does God give men thus a nature which wishes for Him, does He attract us so that we instinctively follow after Him, to elude us, as the mischievous sprite in a story, or as a will-o'-the-wisp? No! no! no! (replies the better spirit); evening and morning and noonday will I pray and that instantly, and *He shall hear my voice.*"

"What is the use of praying?" doggedly retort the world and flesh; "has-not God, if there be one, arranged all things from the beginning? Are they not, therefore, beyond the influence of our petition?"

"God governs, then, does He, not only by laws (which is one thing), but by *cast-iron* laws (which is quite another); cast-iron laws which He not only cannot by His will suspend, but which He cannot, either by dexterous combination of them, or by balancing one against another, or in any other way conceivable to man or God, so manage as to accomplish His purpose; laws which are so blindly fatal that in things both material and spiritual they always work out their unalterable results with remorseless certainty whether the object of their operation flaunt rebellion in the face of his Maker or cling to Him in filial entreaty! A little wanton boy can modify the action of the great laws of Nature. Skipping stones is no great achievement, but it proves that, under the direction of human thought and will, the laws of Nature can be made to do what you like. The boy so combines and modifies the law of gravita-

tion, and the law of momentum, and the law of repulsion, that the stone is freed from absolute bondage to any one of them, and, instead of falling vertically in obedience to gravity, or of moving horizontally in obedience to the momentum given it by his hand, or of simply flying off by repulsion as it strikes the surface of the water, it evolves out of these laws a fourth, and goes skipping along in a succession of curves. Shall the laws of Nature be at the will of a little child and not be at the disposition of the Almighty Creator? Nay (says the spirit), I believe that God can so work by means of His laws that it is true: ‘Whatsoever the Lord pleases that He does in heaven and in earth.’”

And, moreover, while speaking of unvarying rules, be it remembered that there is no more unvarying law than that God blesses the praying man. He attracts heaven’s good things to him as much by law as the magnet attracts steel. There is a deep philosophy in prayer. Human wisdom can defend and has defended it with telling weapons, but, if these should fail, my conviction of the power of prayer will not fail. It will still stand recorded that Jesus taught that men ought always to pray and not to faint. Even then should some man, before whose intellect mine seems as nothing, come and tell me that his philosophy has made him laugh at prayer, and should there be no wise man of his own line of thought, full of great thoughts of God, to meet him and conquer him on his own chosen ground,

still I shall sit quiet, waiting for further philosophic light, in the conviction that what the contemner thinks full day is only the twilight, in which things are often mistaken, and that not they who are of the earth, but He who came down from heaven, can best inform us of heaven's ways. He teaches that God notices the falling of a sparrow and numbers the hairs of our heads, and that those who ask of Him receive. In goodness He towers above all other men, as Saul stood head and shoulders above his brethren. On the whole, He throws more light upon dark Nature than any other man, yea, more than all other men together. I surrender myself to Him, and my judgment justifies me. All Nature and my soul now converse together about our God. The winds are to me the breathing of His Spirit. The ever-returning night is to me the constant mystery of His secret being which I accept, and in which I rest me. The day is the uncovering of the glory of His grace, before which all my powers burst into bloom. The life of Jesus is the revelation of the love and care of God. Pitying Jesus, fellow-sufferer, I cry to Him, surely there is a refuge. This awful mystery of my own heart; bright hopes, and horrors of great darkness; apathy as of one asphyxiated, and yearnings unutterable; conceptions like a seraph's, and diabolical thoughts so horrible and hateful that before them I hold my breath; my selfishness and my passionate, self-forgetting love; is there not at our Father's feet an outlet for the rushing waters of

this maelstrom? Must they go forever whirling around their own centre? Shall they never run clear? Is the vision of the pure river of the water of life, proceeding out of the throne of God and the Lamb, but a dream? The ocean, when troubled, finds relief. "The deep utters his voice, and lifteth up his hands on high," the prophet says. I have seen it in the upreaching waves with their shivered, importuning crests. And when the deep within me is troubled, must I sit in dumb grief with folded arms? When I am smothering, may I not gasp for air? When I am sinking, may I not stretch out my hands for help? When my heart is in heaviness, may I not complain?

II. But some one may reply: "Yes, but I have often gasped, and found no air. I have lifted up my hands, and found nothing to catch hold of."

The Saviour knew the deep trouble of the human heart, and that even good men would feel thus discouraged; He therefore taught with emphasis that men "*ought always to pray, and not to faint.*" They were never to allow themselves to lose faith in prayer. Himself the Counselor of the Father, and familiar with the secrets of heaven, He taught that, whatever the want of apparent success in praying may seem to justify, it does not warrant our growing faint-hearted or remiss in prayer. One's disappointed soul may indulge many other surmises. One may think: God seems not to be answering my prayer, because He is answering it in a way which I

did not look for. I prayed, "Lighten my burden," and again and again, with an intensity of wish that could see only one way out of my trouble, cried out, "Lighten my burden." Instead, He has strengthened my back. It is with me as it was with my Lord. He prayed, "Let this cup pass from Me." The cup was not removed, but there "appeared an angel strengthening Him." One may think: God defers His answer, that it may seem more precious when it comes. One may think: God is wiser than man; the thing I am bent on having is not good for me, and therefore He denies it. One may think: God would try my faith. He holds the blessing I crave beyond my reach, to see how high I will stretch up after it; so He spurs my aspiration and draws out my faith. One may think, perhaps: I am clinging to some favorite sin with one hand while I hold out the other to Him, and He would lead me, by deferring an answer, to stretch out both hands to Him in an agony of desire, and so let go the sin I was holding on to. But to think that there is no use in praying, that God has said, "Seek ye Me" *in vain*, and thus to be led to give up prayer, that we must never do. "Men ought *always* to pray, and not to faint."

To press this lesson home, the Saviour narrated a parable, the point of which was, that it was simply incredible that God could be insensible to the entreaties of His children.

"There was in a city a judge, which feared not God,

neither regarded man : And there was a widow in that city ; and she came unto him, saying, Avenge me of mine adversary. And he would not for a while : but afterward he said within himself, Though I fear not God, nor regard man, yet because this widow troubleth me, I will avenge her, lest by her continual coming she weary me. And the Lord said, Hear what the unjust judge saith. And shall not God avenge His own elect, which cry day and night unto him, though He bear long with them [that is, though with respect to them He bear long with the evil persons and evil things that oppress them] ? I tell you that He will avenge them speedily."

In other words, if an unjust judge, a reckless one at that, with a heart hardened against the authority of God and the wants of man, can be reached in one way or other, by the entreaties of a stranger, is it possible that there is no way in which God, the eternal Judge, the holy and the great, the pitiful, can be reached by the entreaties of His own elect ? Prayer, then, has power above. It is not lost on its way. It is not dismissed without attention. No widow's tale was ever so pathetic in the ears of man as is the complaint of a soul in the ears of the Lord when, in its spiritual widowhood, bereft of solace, with no place to flee unto, it flees unto Him in prayer.

III. This practice of prayer ought to be looked upon as the privilege and duty of all. For God is the God that heareth prayer, unto whom *all flesh* should come.

If, then, the question should be put, "May an impenitent man pray?" the answer should be, "By all means." Not, of course, if he be a man who is capable of intending to mock the God that heareth prayer; but if there be any man who, while habitually disobeying God, is yet in the habit of praying (it may be he hardly knows why, for a loved wife's or a mother's sake, peradventure), let him by no means give it up. That practice may be the one cord that holds him back from ruin. The current of the evil world runs fast; let him no more sever that cord than, if a boatman, he would cut the rope which holds his boat from being carried down the rapids of Niagara. His habit of saying his prayer is one remaining recognition of the existence of God, and a showing of at least outward reverence for His glory. Let him not give the habit up. It is bad for a son to disobey his father; it is *worse* for him to refuse him even the outward tokens of respect. He then becomes a boor. In prayer, such a man draws near, if he does not actually come to, the river of God's love and grace. He may be induced some time, poor man! to quaff its water and quench his thirst. It may be, perchance, that some time at its brink he will light upon that gracious Messenger who seems to take pains to meet with men in their soberer hours; he may be led to step into the Messenger's boat and let Him pilot him back from his exile to his home, to life and peace. Moreover, his praying, if it be nothing more, is a move in the right direction.

If a man practise it, he is one step, it may be a short one, but one step nearer heaven than if he did not practise it. To pray in any way, unless it be to mock the Lord, is practically better than not to pray at all.

And if, in the infinite mercy of God, even the wicked are permitted to address Him, how interesting in His ears must be the words of the man who, while yet in his sins, is beginning to ask if there be no way out of them ; whose infant faith is putting out its small hand for a guide ! The sense of helplessness which then comes over a man, who can tell how God pities it ! The anxiety, the doubt, the fear, the shame if any one, even the wife of his bosom, should so much as suspect that he is thinking of the subject of personal religion, the alternate stretching out for the good and the tendency, as he mixes with the world, to settle down in sin—God only knows how He takes it to His heart. And when such a soul bows in prayer, feeling, “ I cannot help myself, my help must come from God ; ” when with unready lips not yet taught in the words of prayer it tells its tale, how sin coils around all its powers, and that from sin it tries in vain to free itself ; how it has good desires, too weak, however, to accomplish anything, crying, “ Make those desires stronger ; ” how it has some belief, yet so mixed up with doubts that its cry must be, “ Help Thou mine unbelief ”—then God bows over that soul in infinite tenderness and compassion. He speaks deliverance to the captive, the opening of the prison to them that are

bound. He owns the work which in truth has been His from the beginning, and brings it to completion.

Oh, then, that we all may pray! that those who have prayed may pray more and better! that those who have not prayed may begin to pray to-day. The beginner may at least say this much, a tried saint of God wished to say no more : "O my God, *take* my heart, for I cannot give it Thee; and when Thou hast it, Oh, *keep* it, for I cannot keep it for Thee; and save me in spite of myself."

ASSOCIATED WORSHIP OF GOD.

BY THE REV. STOPFORD BROOKE.

FRIDAY, *March 31, 1876.*

"The earth is the Lord's, and the fullness thereof."—

PSALM XXIV. 1.

THIS church has been built and consecrated, as all true churches are built, for the purpose of associated worship of God. It is not set up as a place where men are to worship God in separation from other religious communions in a national or a sect isolation. The services of this week have proved the contrary. Nor is it set up here—the first Protestant church in Rome—in opposition to the religion of Rome; nay, I should rather hope that it would, while denying the error of Rome, strive to meet those who worship God in that communion on the grounds that are common to both. But, assuredly, its foundation here, in the midst of this city, protest against that opinion of the Church of Rome, only those who hold her doctrine can associate for worship God. For the very foundation idea of my Protestant church is not so much protest against special

bound. He owns the work which in truth has been His from the beginning, and brings it to completion.

Oh, then, that we all may pray ! that those who have prayed may pray more and better ! that those who have not prayed may begin to pray to-day. The beginner may at least say this much, a tried saint of God wished to say no more : "O my God, *take* my heart, for I cannot give it Thee ; and when Thou hast it, Oh, *keep* it, for I cannot keep it for Thee ; and save me in spite of myself."

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whatever form of religious opinion, have the right to worship God together.

A church is an association of men to worship God, and it preserves the grander thought that all mankind will finally be linked together in common adoration of God. This church enshrines that idea in forms. It does not matter that it is for a particular nation, or a special form of worship. It is not that particular that those who worship here should think of, or dwell on, as they pray. It is that they represent, in one particular form, the universal truth that all men are bound to bind themselves together into one communion, on common grounds, for God's worship, and that they look forward to a time when all men shall be, in such a worship, united for evermore.

It is on a portion of the thoughts linked to this idea of all mankind associated to worship God, of which idea all churches are the witness and the encouragement, that I shall speak this morning.

Associated worship of God is founded on belief in the common Fatherhood of God and the common consciousness of immortality. The natural inference from the holding of such truths is belief in the progress of man. This progress was secured and promoted, first, by devotion to the great ideas which experience had slowly wrought out and shown to be necessary for progress ; and, secondly, by recognizing quickly and working for those new ideas which God, in His continuous revela-

tion, gave to us through men. To hold that such ideas were from God, and that God's intention in revealing them was for the final good of all mankind, was to make work for them, and in them, religious. And such work, on such grounds, when united in by men all over the world, was, in spite of the differences of class, nation, and religious opinion, associated worship of God. Opposed to all this was the exclusive individual theory of religion, which made it a matter only between God and each man's soul, and set aside associations in religions. There is another part of the individual theory which is directly opposed to the thought that associated worship of God consists in men uniting to carry out and to work for the ideas which promote the progress of the race. That other part is this: that this world is not God's; that this world and its interests have nothing to do with Him; that the commercial, political, artistic, and scientific labors of mankind have no connection with the world to come; that we cannot worship God rightly unless we separate our religion from them, and ourselves from their pursuit; that all these things are nothing in comparison with the immortal life of the soul; and that we are to fix our minds on that alone, and on heaven, where all things of this kind are dust and ashes.

In speaking of the two theories that oppose it, we shall find room to say many things which all who wish to feel a true religious association with one another should avoid.

In speaking of the truth of the Hebrew conception, we shall find the idea and its attendant thoughts, which all those who worship in a church should feel moving through them like glowing fire as they worship ; which they should carry with them, like rushing fire, through their daily work.

1. Naturally, if that statement be true, there is no universal associated worship of God possible ; for none of the large interests that unite men have then anything to do with God or His worship. There is no worship of God in fighting for liberty, no religion in scientific pursuits, in trade, in union for social or sanitary improvement, in the life of the artist, in the life of the politician. The interests of this world die with the world ; when death comes and we step into the new life, they are like a dream when one awaketh. It is this conception I wish to state the opposite to this morning. The earth is the Lord's, and its fullness ; its work is worship of Him, and the work of heaven is the work of earth continued, as the work of summer and autumn is a continuation of that of winter and spring.

If the earth is not the Lord's, whose is it ? Is the devil, then, its lord and king ? This is the creed of many religious persons ; we find its results in all the forms of asceticism. The body was degraded, beaten, emaciated, rendered unhealthy, and the diseased frame and diseased brain of thousands gave birth to monstrous growths of superstition, to cruel opinions, to hysterical

religion. It proves nothing as to the good of it that many of the greatest intellects practised it, for the fact is that, when it is not combined with solitude and retirement from the world, fasting and hardship do not much injure men ; and men, like St. Francis or St. Bernard—the one the type of the emotional, the other of the organizing intellect—soon left their solitudes and became active leaders of great movements. Practically, they did not act as if the world were altogether of the devil. It is when men, holding that all human things were evil, left them, and were not drawn, like the greater spirits, into the midst of life, that we find all the evil of this belief. They separated themselves from domestic, social, and national life and duties ; they put a ban on them by such separation, they left a greater burden of them to be borne by others than was right. The forces were spent which might have moved the world forward in resisting temptations which their solitude created for them. Cast upon their own heart and its emotions alone, they became spiritually selfish ; devoted only to their own selves, they forgot to save the world. If they conquered temptation, spiritual pride inflamed them ; if they were conquered, spiritual despair made their lives useless and frightful. The monasteries, with all their good (and it was in some ways great, but great in proportion as they were less solitary), were the idling fields of Europe, and their tendency was to become more and more idle ; and often, as the result of idleness, more

and more immoral. These were the natural results of the theory that the earth was the devil's. What, then, shall we say of the theory?

It had a further inference : it made all the work of the world profane ; God could not be in any labor. The law-maker was forced to separate between his work and his religion ; the warrior found no divine idea in his battle ; the artist, unless he were a merely religious one, was driven into irreligion ; the scientific man became a heretic. All these pursuits were held to be profane at their root, unless they were distinctly used for religion, and the result was that there was no conception in men's work that restrained them from degrading it. It was profane—let it be profane. All the common labor of mankind was divided from religion and handed over to the devil; infinite evil of this. When the theory went further, and made not only all work, but all thought that did not support the theology of asceticism devilish, persecution for opinion was established with all its terrible train of cruelties, and free thought in such matters as science and learning, whose discoveries clashed with theology, was imprisoned, bound, and slain ; progress of man was checked. These are the results of the theory that makes this human world the world of the devil, and they are results which, even at this time, are not uncommon ; they utterly, I say, condemn the theory. The same temper is in Protestantism.

2. The earth is man's, and man's alone. Its work is

not profane or Divine ; it does not belong to the devil, but neither does it belong to God. There is no God, or, if He exists, He has nothing to do, that we know of, with us and our world. The earth with its labor is simply human, and we have to do our work in it quietly, without personal hope, without any hope for mankind's final continuance, seeking in that which surrounds us our only labor, striving to make things that lie before us better—our own lives, our children, the laws, the social principles, the health of man. We know by experience that this or that cause is evil or good for man ; we know we ought to obey the laws of Nature, and our work is to pursue the better cause and to obey Nature, and console ourselves for eternal death by the feeling that those who come after us will be better off than we. This is our religion ; to do it is our worship, to be pleased in doing it our heaven.

Well, it has its force, and, if there is unutterable sadness in it, there is a certain sentimental nobility in it that comes out of the cause of its sadness, and which is creative of a philosophy of stern endurance and a poetry of wild regret. In neither is there any progressive vitality. When the sadness of it is not felt, there does not seem any intellectual or poetic nobility in it ; it gives up problems that exist without one touch of shame—and that is either want of intellectual care or courage—and it takes more than half the poetic elements out of life.

The earth is man's and the fullness thereof. He bears up the pillars of it. There is no spirit beyond this perishing one ; there is no life beyond this dying one. At the root of all that religious passion and worship by which so many millions have lived and died, there is no reality, and all these were the fools of fancy, and died deceived ; at the root of all human progress there is no impelling power, at its end there is no end ; at the root of all beauty there is no eternal beauty ; of all our love of it there is no eternal source or object ; at the root of all life there is no self-existent life that cannot die, that must go on evolving life. At the root of all effort there is no eternal will, no supporting power ; at the root of all the love of earth there is no continuance. At the root of all education there is no great end ; at the root of all government there is no governor. O God, how pitiful ! Where, then, is worship ? *Worship moral excellence*, it is said. Why, it is perishing. The noblest and the truest meet the same fate as the basest, and all the moral beauty of mankind, age after age, sinks into nothingness at last. We cannot long worship that which is the food of death, that which has no essential life ; and while we worship it our ideal of worship droops, and its practical power as a motive of life decays. *Worship humanity*, we are told. Who can long worship an abstraction without the worship growing cold ? Love passes from it, and it cannot move the world. Or, if it is said that humanity is not an ab-

straction, that the human race, which is worshiped as a whole, is concrete enough, it is still a dying human race, and it is not possible to worship that which every hour kills ; or it is a failing, miserable, wicked, victimized race ; and is a thing which shares in these elements, and has no chance in this theory of ever getting final rid of them, a thing which men can worship long ?

It may be. I would not speak too boldly for others, but it does not seem to me that this can satisfy the craving heart of man, or kindle it to great enthusiasm, or ennable it in an enduring way. That the earth is man's may do for the new gospel ; but it makes the earth a desert to me, and I would despise my life could I think it true. I cannot attack or abuse this new religion, as men call it, nor will I argue the subject, for all argument could only address those who feel the thirst for God, the passionate desire for the continuance of conscious love and effort and joy, which is the desire of high immortality ; and these longings, with which I would fain hope the race still thrills, I am told are not felt at all by those who have taken a Divine will out of the world of men. It is better to leave the new teaching to do its work, to prove its power to heal the ills and console the sorrows of mankind, to make its proof of its being better for man than the elder gospel of a Father and a Saviour and a life to come. Only for the sake of the validity of the proof, I should like those who deny, or those who say that they know nothing of

God and immortality, to isolate themselves into a body apart from the Christian world, and see what sort of a society theirs would be in the lapse of a century. As long as they live and teach in a society drenched with the ideas of Christ, it is impossible their doctrines can have fair play; they are always being modified unconsciously, even in their own minds, by the results of the belief in God and in a life to come.

The earth is the devil's, the earth is man's. In opposition to both these views, I state this old Hebrew saying, "The earth is the Lord's." All the life of man and all his work is of God and a part of the life to come. It is in the denial of that, and in the results that follow its denial, that all the evil arises that seems to contradict the truth that this world is God's world; till men believe in it with all their heart, and unite to believe it and to live by it, there will be wrong and sin, and the sorrow that corrupts and does not exalt the soul. The true way to destroy evil is ultimately to get men to confess and believe both that their lives and their work are given to them and inspired by God, that they are to be ruled and directed by Divine ideas, and more than all by this idea, that the whole of mankind is going on in God to final good, and that all work is only useful as it ministers to that eternal progress. Each of us would then feel as if he were himself an apostle, and it would be the true feeling to possess—a feeling which would kindle in us a fire of duty, in our hearts thoughts

that would burn, and on our lips words that would inflame the world. Each of us would feel then that we have a special work to do in this great labor, and that our work was not isolated but contained in the great whole ; not of mean repute, but glorified as part of the magnificent conception at whose accomplishment God toils. And all our lives would become honorable, worthy of love, conquerors of difficulty in the splendor of the thought. Each of us then would have a higher inspiration in our work than any earthly one, a stronger motive to keep it noble and pure than any this world can give. We should sanctify our labor from the motives of self and money-getting and dishonorable fame, for we should think of it, not as a means of temporal advance to ourselves, but of the eternal advance of the whole race. We should keep our life true and pure and loving and high-minded and generous, for so we should make it like what it is bound to be—the work of God. We should do all its work, not within the thoughts that bound our own narrow life, but in harmony with the thoughts that regulate the music of the world's progress. We should do it not as individuals alone, or with an individual aim, but in communion with all mankind, and with an aim for all the race, so that in the knowledge of the universal sympathy of all men with us, and in the thought that we were at one with all humanity, an ineffable grandeur would be given to it, a grandeur that would grow like the dawn into brightness following

brightness, and joy redoubling joy, as we come to know more clearly through our work that all humanity was at one with God.

There would be a solid foundation for every life and its labor. The great statesman would feel, in carrying wise measures and in making laws, not only that he was bettering his nation for a time, but that he was enabling her to do her part in the greater work of the whole progress of man to final unity in God ; he would feel in his work on international law that he was not only benefiting his own nation's trade and prosperity, but linking together all nations into a closer association toward a vaster union in the future, when all should be one in God. The merchant would feel the same in his commercial work. Beyond his own personal interests, beyond the national interest of trade, he would think that his work was to help to knit the world together more closely, that it might the quicker reach the glorious end when all should interchange in heavenly peace their good. The soldier would go forth to battle in a just and noble cause, not only that his nation might prevail, but that he might contend for the ideas which are the life-blood of humanity, and die, knowing that he had warred for God, ministered to man's eternal progress. The social reformer would think not only that he had brought health to a town, or redeemed an outcast class, but that, in bringing health, he had given more energy to men destined to God's work, and in redeeming the

criminal he had advanced the great day of the Lord, when all mankind should be without sin. The scientific man would not love physical truth alone, or the artist beauty alone; but both would love their work and the thoughts and emotions at its root more deeply, because every fresh truth, every new form of beauty were steps by which man might get nearer to the Divine future. All would have a Divine centre and a Divine hope and power at the foundation of their work; each beyond the special sphere of his labor, beyond the brief life he lives, would have an infinite and ennobling aim. There would be nothing which would not be the Lord's, nothing which would not have relation to all mankind forever.

No one could then dream that this life was to be separated from the other, to be considered apart from the other; it would be as religious to live keenly in the present as in the future. The present would be seen as part of the life to come; it *is* part of the life to come. Present and future are merely names to us; there is but one forever present life. We do not really live in time, time is but a name for a fraction of our life; we really abide forever in eternity, and are always eternal. And in this faith all our interests are also eternal; all our affections go on in an unbroken chain: all our struggle after knowledge goes on after death as if no death had been; all our love of beauty, all our art, is as great and vital an interest and passion in the world we call the

other world as it is here. All our noble work either goes on directly or fits us for other work of the same kind ; every step of the way is in vital union with the goal. There is no break in continuance ; there is only change, the change that progress works ; it is like the year's change of seasons—each season's cause and effect, growth, transition, unbroken continuance of life. We have our winter here ; all the powers of the greater life are ours when we come into this world, but they are hidden in the earth of our nature ; it is long before we can force them above the ground and make them break into outward being. Imagination, intellect, spiritual force—their rapid growth is not only prevented, it is impossible. There are baffling barriers which we cannot overpass at once ; they limit us, like the frosty air and hardened ground that concentrate the sap in the root, and they do the same good work, though it often seems a cruelty to us ; they are part of the preparation for a higher life, and that this life *is to be* is their only explanation. Our winter is bound to the coming time by natural and necessary ties.

We have our spring here, for, passing out of the inward and hidden struggles of youth, we learn enough of our powers to use them rightly. As we grow older we become masters of our life ; we make imagination our servant, intellect our slave, the emotional powers our faithful friends, and the barriers that baffled our endeavors seem to melt away ; they are at least not so

troublesome as in youth. Then comes our spring—we have it here ; our life bursts into flower and leaf, and rejoices in itself. We work, and we know we work ; but it has no perfection and no fruit, and it is often a fierce and bitter struggle. Bitter winds, cutting hail, the morning frosts that nip the bloom and the bud, the lashing storms of March, have all their analogies in the life of the man who has found his powers and begun to make them tell. How sorely we are baffled and buffeted in life ! and were it not that every storm drives us back on ourselves to strengthen some weakness, to add more vital force to some power *for a coming purpose*—were all this not education, did not our winter and our stormy spring look forward to the fullness of summer and the fruit of autumn, this life of ours would be, indeed, the inexplicable thing it is declared to be by many ; but summer comes and autumn, and they are the natural continuance of winter and spring. We have our summer rest after death ; some have something of it here in the mellowed beauty of old age. But that is not common ; our rest is beyond these noises. It is rest, not in sloth, but in the plenteous wealth of productive summer—rest in the warm air of God's love and of universal love of man, to breathe which is itself creative of easy and happy growth—the rest of fullness of life, of the use of all our powers in harmony with one another and with circumstance.

With our summer is linked our autumn, the time of

fruitfulness, when all the long restraint of winter, and all the buffeting of the spring, will find their meaning and their use in the rich harvest of fruit we shall produce for the good and food of the whole. And there shall be forever fullness and fruit, without a winter—fullness and fruit for the blessedness and good of all.

It is with that close that our winter and spring here are inseparably connected ; they form one life, as the seasons form one year. It is not, then, "Live apart from earth, that you may live for heaven," that we say ; it is, "Live for earth, and you will live for heaven ; for, as heaven is the Lord's, and its fullness, so also is the earth and its fullness."

And now what is the conclusion of these things ? If they be true, then all the true work of this world is God's work, and for God's great purpose of the education and progress of mankind to eternal life in Him. And to do it, *with that faith*, is worship of Him ; and to do it with a felt sympathy with others, with the sense of an eternal communion with all men, with the thought, not of our individual salvation, but of the salvation of the whole as its motive-power and end, is associated worship of God. Then every great human interest is God's interest, and part of the interests of the life to come ; and when we contend for liberty, when we pursue after truth in science, in philosophy, in discovery, when we seek the hidden beauty, and bring its forms to light for the comfort and joy of man, when we organize

a national life, when we redeem a degraded community, when we increase the well-being of a class or clear away disease or crime, when we send a thousand ships to bind nations together by the noble interchange of commerce, when we teach and enforce high truths in the life of literature, we are not doing any human but Divine work ; we are living the life of God, we are living the life of heaven. And every hour of our day is a worship of God in union with our fellow-laborers, a worship which is fulfilling the aspiration and the prayer of Christ for men—“Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven.”

CHRIST WORKING IN HIS CHURCH.

BY THE REV. R. J. NEVIN, D. D.

Preached April 1, 1876,

At the Ordination to the Diaconate of the Rev. GEORGE WHITFIELD
BENJAMIN, M. A., M. D., of New Haven, Conn.

"The former treatise have I made, O Theophilus, of all that Jesus began both to do and teach, until the day in which he was taken up, after that he, through the Holy Ghost, had given commandments unto the apostles whom he had chosen."
—*Acts i. 1, 2.*

THE former treatise here referred to is the Gospel according to St. Luke. Turning to it, we find that it was written to this same Theophilus, who seems to have been a Gentile convert of magisterial rank, that he might know in order the certainty of those Christian doctrines in which, so far, he had been only orally instructed; and this, says the writer, who, as an eye-witness and minister of the incarnate Word from the beginning, claims to have had a perfect understanding of all things from the very first—this, in regard to those things which were then most surely believed in the Christian society in which both Theophilus and the

writer stood. These things, then, of most sure belief that follow in that Gospel are certain facts in regard to the life of Jesus, the Prophet of Nazareth, in Galilee, and certain doings and teachings of His, until the day when, from the Mount of Olivet, He was taken up visibly into heaven, after He had given commandments and a special mission to certain men whom He had chosen to be His witnesses and Apostles to the world. This mission was, that they should go and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever He, their Lord, had commanded them. And as a power to enable them to fulfill this mission, He promised to be with them alway, even unto the end of the world.

Here St. Luke finished his relation of all that Jesus began to do and teach, as He walked among men in the body which was born of the Virgin Mary, and in which He ascended into the heavens, and now, before the throne of God, is forever making intercession for us—for every soul of man that is provoking God's punishments for sins constant and, alas ! too often unrepented of—forever holding His precious passion, His deadly wounds, between God and our evil work, between us and God's wrath—an all-sufficient, because an infinite, sacrifice. But Jesus did not stop either His teaching or doing upon earth when He passed into the heavens. He left behind Him a band of witnesses chosen by Him-

self, with whom He promised, descending by His Spirit, to be for all time. They, as individuals, were mortal, and were to pass away, but they, as a body, were not to pass away. They, as individuals, were weak and untrained and erring; but, united, they were to be unconquerable and infallible, and, through all the confusion and failures of their several parts, the work they did as a whole was their Lord's work, in so real a sense that their society is called by the Holy Ghost His body, through which He would work as truly and efficiently as He did through that body of flesh and bones in which He went about doing good of old in the villages and cities of favored Galilee, and won the victory of life through the suffering and apparent defeat of the Cross. Only now His work is no longer confined to a petty province like Palestine, or a despised people like the Jews, nor is it shut up within the feeble powers of a mortal body and the limits of a few short years, but from the heavenly mountain-top, whence now He observes and rules the heavings of the whole creation, Jesus, through the myriad mouths of His Apostles and their successors, is preaching through every land and to all peoples, and, by the everywhere reaching hands of Apostolic Churches, is blessing men the world around and for all time; and thus He will continue both to do and teach from heaven, His dwelling-place, by the power of the Holy Ghost, until He shall come again in glory, not now to teach, but to judge the world.

So now, not less than thirty-three years after the Lord was taken up into heaven, St. Luke wrote this book, which opens with our text, to show us how, in the beginnings of the Church, Jesus went on to finish through His servants what He only began to do and teach in the days of His flesh in Judea. He does not pretend therein to tell us all that the Apostles did, or that even any one of them did. It is not, therefore, "the Acts of the Apostles," as we commonly call it, but rather actings of Apostles, certain apostolic workings, by which Christ's ministry was perpetuated and increased, and His society enlarged and widened to take in first Samaria, and then all men who would believe on His name through all the Gentile world, and in the course of which it is shown us how the Gospel of Christ crucified met evil in its then most reigning forms on earth: idolatry and image-worship at Lystra and Ephesus, sorcery and witchcraft in Samaria and Philippi, skeptical philosophy at Athens, and intellectual pride and worldly luxury at Corinth, met and conquered them all, until at last it found a lodgment in this imperial city—the world-capital of that age—in the person of the prisoner Paul, through whom, though an ambassador in bonds, the ever-unbound Word of God ran forth, and had free course, and was manifested both in Cæsar's court and in all other places, until at last, in palace and hovel and secret catacomb, the Christian Society had laid here broad and deep foundations, which all the material

might of the world's heathen capital essayed in vain to overflow or destroy.

But all through these acts we are constantly reminded of one thing : that it is the Lord Jesus Himself who is doing them, who is administering His household the Church. He it is, and not the Apostles, who chooses Matthias ; He calls Saul on his mad way to Damascus ; He works miracles by the hand of the Apostles ; He adds to the infant Church from day to day such as shall be saved ; He comforts Paul in ward at Jerusalem, and calls him to bear witness at Rome ; and it is with the picture of this Christ-called Apostle, preaching here those things which concern the Lord Jesus Christ, with all confidence, no man forbidding him, that the sacred narrative closes. With what the Apostles were, or did, as men, the book troubles not itself. What they looked like, what families they may have had, when or how they died, where they were buried, these things, however interesting and precious they would be to us to know of in regard to men so revered and loved, are never so much as alluded to, for they are nothing in the history of what Jesus, the Lord, was going on to do in the world. But that the Gospel was preached far and wide, that was everything ; and that souls that should be saved were added daily to the Church ; that, to a world lying in darkness, the truth spread everywhere, and prevailed mightily, not only over outside heathen enemies, but over the foes of its own household, breaking loose

from all the swathing bands in which the early prejudices, or the secular policy of some of its first Apostles, would have cramped up its free and natural growth. The whole spirit, then, of this inspired book of early Christian acts is to raise the reader above the mere human factors, and impress on him the great fact that Christ Himself, the Jehovah Jesus, who of old, by cloud and fire, had led His people Israel through strange and devious ways, through sea and desert, through hunger and weariness and warring, safe into the promised land, was keeping His promise to be with His Church on to her victorious end; was leading His people, the souls that were willing to follow Him out of the darkness of error into the light of truth, no longer by the hand of human leaders, as Moses and Aaron, but by His own hand, and by the leading of His own voice. In the Book of Acts, the Lord Jesus Christ is set forth as the head and hero of His Church then, as He has been through all her working since. Very wonderful are these few pages of inspired church-history in this matter, very saving against the ideas of mere secular organization and of human unity of direction, which it was inevitable would soon develop themselves in the growth of the Church, striving to fashion it after the pattern, not of things in the heavens, but of the successful kingdoms of the earth.

When the Church thus became established strongly in this city, whose political dream was that she should

unite under herself as world-capital and mistress all the kingdoms of the earth, without regard to any community of blood, or language, or laws, or material interests, and hold them in subjection to her absolute sway by the influence of mere brute force, it was inevitable that this idea of world-dominion, which seemed at the time not only politically successful, but to be the most promising solution of the great world-problems of that day, should seize hold of ardent minds in the Church as the true realization of her work in her sphere, and lead them to devise the scheme, first, of a great spiritual kingdom compacted together in an unbroken unity through a well-organized hierarchy, governed at first on republican principles, by the authority of general councils, in which both clergy and laity had a voice, but corrupting itself later into the imperial system, as, in the decadence of civilization and the general breaking up of all established society, a stronger and more vigorous centre of unity seemed to be required to meet the emergencies of troublous times. Naturally, in such a case—for the whole idea, even while it pretended to confine itself to the spiritual sphere, was after a secular pattern—this centre was found in that Apostolic See which, though last of the great Apostolic patriarchates in foundation, was yet, as that of the world's metropolis, the only one that had any possible chance of enforcing with success her pretensions to such an authority. This claim once established, we need not be surprised, as the overgrown

mass of the Roman political empire fell into total and irreparable ruin, to find the idea developed that the mission of the Church called her to set herself up now upon earth as the head of a great temporal kingdom of Christ, which, in right of the sovereignty of the universe committed to her Master in heaven, should gradually, by fair or foul means, subject the whole world to His self-constituted vicar on earth, and gather together, under one mild and beneficent sway, all the tribes of the earth, realizing thus through her Popes the fond ambition of the Cæsars.

But St. Augustine's magnificent "Vision of the State of God," reaching a visible perfection through its human organization and discipline on earth, and Gregory's bold and thoroughly secularized scheme of a united spiritual and temporal domination of the world, are, both of them, of the earth; earthy, when we place them beside the first working of Christ's Church on the world, as we have it sketched for us by the pen of inspiration. Gregory's plan had, it is true, much of beneficence and wisdom in it, and has done no small service to the world in its day ; but it was man's wisdom and man's way, rather than God's, and its benefits to mankind were in the order of things temporal rather than of things spiritual; and the day for these having passed away, it, too, as a governing system must come to its end—it, too, has come to its end, found wanting because it has tried to fetter the truth within its own finite limits, to chain up

from men the Word of God, who cannot be bound, to lay upon men human traditions as eternal truths, to point men for succor to human mediation, to teach them that they are united together by, and can be taught and blessed by, a head—a father—upon earth, rather than the Lord Jesus in heaven.

I am very far here from intending to deprecate or make light of the human ministry, or external ordinances, which it was necessary should exist in a body in which man is an essential factor, and which our Lord saw fit Himself to appoint in His Church; only I wish to insist, first of all, on the fact so clearly and prominently brought out in the few Apostolic acts recorded for us, that the Lord Jesus Himself is always working through and for the Church, and bending the perverse wills of her enemies, and the often ignorant and selfish wills of her children, to accomplish what He sees is best for the children of men, even where they see neither the end nor the way. And more: that His presence with the Church, and His unerring guidance of her, is not bound down nor determined by the teaching or acting of any Apostle or body of Apostles, or by any authority that can be called together, or seen, or comprehended, of men, any more than the whole harmonious working of the universe is determined absolutely by the partial laws and few relations of whose knowledge Science has made herself master. So that the Christian can say, “I believe in the Holy Catholic Church,” with an unshaken

faith, though he may be able to point to no uniting head on earth, and may in vain attempt to define or bound, even negatively, the limits of that catholicity which Christ hath taught us is here on earth shut up neither to Jerusalem nor to this city, but infolds in its life-bearing bosom every soul whom the Father seeketh to worship Him in spirit and in truth, and which, beyond this earth, holds in a living communion of hopes and prayers the Christian dead, the followers of truth, even from righteous Abel to the believer whose released soul the joyous angels are at this minute winging swift to the glad peace of Paradise. So that the Christian may say, with an unfaltering faith, "I believe that the Lord Jesus is now with His Church, and will be with her always, even to the end of the world, to teach and guide her into all truth;" though this teaching for him may be formulated in the decrees of no council, and the eye in vain strive to pierce through the storm around us, and mark out the path over which we are going, far less desry the blessed haven where we would be. Surely, without this faith in Christ's constant and overruling presence as Head with His Church, no one could be found rash enough, in these days of division and doubt and questioning, to take upon himself the overwhelming responsibilities that lie in the Ministry which He founded to carry on His work.

And now we are met here this morning to receive into a part in this present work of Christ in the world

one who has been, we trust, both inwardly moved by God the Holy Ghost to take upon him the office and administration of a deacon, to serve God for the promoting of His glory and the edifying of His people, and has also been approved by the Church, as in all particulars of external fitness truly called to this Ministry. It is made my duty, by our rubrics, in the sermon to declare the duty and office of the diaconate, how necessary that order is in the Church of Christ, and also how the people ought to esteem them in their office. Passing, therefore, from the general subject of the Ministry, founded by our Lord to carry out His work in the world, I must ask your attention to a rapid sketch, as it is recorded by St. Luke, of how the Lord went on to develop the mission given by Him to the Apostles by the institution of this order. At first we find the infant Church gradually detaching itself from the Jewish worship, under apparently the immediate ministry of the Apostles only. Then, in the sixth chapter, we find instituted an order universally conceded to be that of the deacons—this from two to three years after our Lord's ascension. It had its rise, as all really useful things must have, in a special want of the time. The first Christians, expecting speedily the coming again of the Lord Jesus in the flesh, and moved by a great contempt for all worldly goods, which they felt were soon to pass away, tried the plan of living as a common family, selling their lands and houses, putting the proceeds into a common fund,

and distributing unto every man, according as he had need. This seems to have worked well enough when they were a small and homogeneous body ; but, presently, when their numbers were multiplied, and many Gentiles were brought into the Church, there arose a murmuring of these against the Hebrew body of Christians, because their widows were neglected in the daily ministration. "Then," we are told, "the twelve called the multitude of the disciples unto them and said, 'It is not reason that we should leave the Word of God and serve tables. Wherefore, brethren, look ye out among you seven men of honest report, full of the Holy Ghost and of wisdom, whom we may appoint over this business. But we will give ourselves continually to prayer and to the ministry of the Word.'" And the saying pleased the whole multitude; and so they chose seven men, of whom a proportion at least represented the body of Gentile Christians. And the Apostles ordained them, praying and laying their hands on them. The order thus started to meet a temporal need was continued, however, after the communistic system, which had given it rise, was abandoned by the growing Church, and, beyond their first mission of serving tables in the daily ministration, we presently find that to them was given the power of preaching and of baptizing, but that they did not have the power of laying on of hands, whether in the way of confirmation or of ordination. They are constantly referred to as a separate order in

the Epistles of St. Paul; and when we pass from Holy Scripture to the writings of the fathers, we find them clearly defined as a body charged especially with the care of the charities of the faithful, but serving further in the congregation in a subordinate capacity in the ministrations of spiritual offices. "Not merely ministers of food and drink," says St. Ignatius, "but servants of the Church of God." And so they have continued to serve as a separate order in the Church unto this day. Nor have any of those who have thrown away this order of ministry instituted by the Apostles ever been able to give any good or sufficient reason why it should, or that it lawfully may, be discontinued in the Church.

Deacons: servants of the Church of God. My brother, the first thought and meaning in this office to which you are, by God's help, to be called to-day, is that of service, of ministration. Its very name means this, and its character in this respect was given it from the mouth and by the example of Him who Himself healed the lame and blind and dumb and maimed, and fed the famishing multitudes by Galilee's storm-tossed waters. And He gave this as the single idea and meaning of His own ministry in its wholeness and in all its parts. For this deacons exist, for this priests exist, for this bishops exist—to minister, to serve mankind, for whom Christ died; and, alas for that steward, in whatever office, who forgets this the first charge of his Lord to him !

When the two sons of Zebedee were betrayed by

their mother's ambition into seeking a primacy over the other Apostles, and the ten were moved with indignation against them, we read that Jesus called them unto Him and said: "Ye know that the princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them, and they that are great exercise authority upon them; but it shall not be so among you, but whosoever will be great among you, let him be your minister, and whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant, even as the Son of Man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister and to give His life a ransom for many." In this text, Christ holds up to us the whole object of His coming into the world, and the whole meaning of His life as man on earth; and the work that He began He has sent His disciples to carry on—the same work, and in the same way. Not to be ministered unto, but to minister—to pour out the richest treasures of life as He did, for the helping and saving of fellow-men, this is the life, the heart of Christianity. Men have represented it otherwise, I know, have offered to the world in substitute rules of external obedience, laws of abstinence and punctilious body-service, the assent of an intellectual belief to the doctrines of a traditional orthodoxy, or the abstractions of some great theological mind of earlier or later days; but these things, however good in their place, are but the framework, the dead skeletons of religion. They cannot heal and fill men's aching hearts. They cannot draw men to Christ. They cannot convince

men of His Divinity, unless they be filled out with the flesh and blood and animated with the living breath of Christ Himself. Men who are dying now, in this nineteenth century, do not want a dead Christ, but a living one; do not want to be pointed back to foodless stories of a far-off past, but to be shown the Christ now in the world, and strong to help men who are now going astray and falling, hungering, fainting, dying here. If Christ's servants will do for their fellow-men now in Christ's name what their Master did when He went about in Galilee—healing the sick, cleansing the lepers, raising the palsied, opening the eyes of the blind, giving back to weeping women their dead raised to life again, and helping men, saving them, wherever He went—then the world of to-day will accept and believe in their Master living and working in them, with a faith that no other evidences, no historical testimony or exhaustive arguments for His Divinity could possibly effect. And working so, in Christ's name and stead, faithfully, blindly, as some might say, we may confidently leave in His hands the reaping and garnering of the fruits, and, above all, the shaping and governing of the Church in both her present and future work. Infinitely good were it for the Church did her ministry now think less of governing and guiding, and more of serving her—could they only always presently realize that the Lord Jesus is a living Head to her to-day (as He has always been), going on both to do and teach by her, what He began to do

until the day that He was taken up, and that her holiest bishops, her greatest doctors, are as little wise or, thank God, as little able to direct Christ's work now as were those Apostles who would have called down fire from heaven to consume the ignorant Samaritan villages, or as was St. Peter, when he would have turned his Master aside from the royal road of self-sacrifice ! What Christ asks of His true apostles to-day is simply to carry out His orders, to do His plain work, with all the loyalty and devotion that man ever bore to his king. When the first council of the Church—the Apostles and elders and brethren who met at Jerusalem—sent back Saint Barnabas and Paul to Antioch, commissioned to settle the great question of ceremonial law which had arisen from the intolerance of those who taught that circumcision was necessary to salvation, they commended them to the Gentile brethren, not as men learned in the law or in the teachings of the Church, neither as great preachers, nor as wise men, strong in executive and organizing power, but they gave them this supreme commendation: "Men that have hazarded their lives for the name of our Lord Jesus Christ."

I do not wish to dwell on the thought of hazarding life in itself. It has been made common to us all in this generation as a thought and as an act. And, happily for mankind, there are very few among men, women, or children, who would not, or indeed who do not, at some moment in their life, in some way or other, rise beyond

self to the devotion of hazarding life for some principle of right or justice, or for some person who is dearer to them than life. But I do wish to lay all stress on that for which life is hazarded. This is something that every minister of Christ must to-day look to carefully, anxiously. For you, my brother, called to a part in Christ's work in the world in this generation, let there be but one thing for which you will hazard your life—the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. It is not only that men from without will seek to mislead you, saying, "Behold, here is Christ!" in the secret chambers of superstition, or there in the deserts of rationalism. Within the Church you will be tempted to spend and hazard your life, for schools of theology, for party rivalries and successes, for some even of the modes of work used by the Church. You will be asked to make points of conscience, for which men might die, of utterly non-essential positions or acts of ritual in the celebration of our worship. You will be asked, with an equal superstition, to oppose as a matter of conscience, perhaps, the same observances, with a bitterness which no pretended loyalty to Christ therein could possibly justify. You may be warmed, in some moment of enthusiasm, to hazard life for the glory or honor of the Church in her mere visible manifestations. I pray God that you may hazard your life rather and only for the name of your Lord Jesus Christ, in bringing the light and comfort and peace of His Gospel to dying fellow-men, of service to whom He has said,

"Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these, My brethren, ye have done it unto Me." Should, then, your hazard of life be accepted, fear not. Jesus, your King, will stand clear to your closing eyes, comforting you with the vision of Himself, for whom you die, and of the certain victory which you will have helped Him to win.

APPENDIX.

ST. PAUL'S within the Walls, Rome, is built from designs by George Edmund Street, Esq., R. A., No. 14 Cavendish Place, Cavendish Square, London, England, who visited Rome and made his first sketch on the ground, after careful study of the situation of the church-lot and of its surrounding buildings. On account of the great height of these, Mr. Street threw his tower into the façade of the church, which would otherwise have been dwarfed by the greater loftiness of the opposite and adjoining houses. In his original plan, also, the tower was advanced beyond the rest of the façade about a foot and a half, so as to define its character as a tower from the street up; but this plan we were forced to abandon, from the ignorance or perverseness, I might almost say, of the municipal commissioner in charge of the laying out of the new quarters, who objected to the broken façade on the Via Nazionale, which he hoped to make the great boulevard of Rome, and demurred to our going on according to the original design. Hence the flat façade, in which the tower is not defined till it rises above the clerestory.

The construction of the foundation-walls was intrusted to the superintendence of Signor Rodolfo Lanciani, a Roman en-

gineer, well known as Secretary of the Commission on Archaeology.

The construction of the building, from the foundation-walls upward, was directed by the Cavaliere Henri Kleffler, a Swiss architect of high standing, resident in Rome, who also regulated the accounts of the contractor.

The general contract for the building was given to Signor Biagio Frontoni, a Roman master-mason, who, with Signor Gioacchino Pardini as associate, executed directly all the brick-work on both the church and the tower, and no better brick-work has been done lately in Rome. Signor Giovanni Fabri, of Rome, acted as *misuratore* for the whole contract.

The other work on the building was executed by the following sub-contractors, all of Rome: Stone-cutting of exterior, by Augusto dell' Aquila; carpenter's work, by Annibale Renzi; marble-work of choir, by Giovanni B. Pistacchi; stone-work of tower, by G. B. Pistacchi, Pietro Fioravanti, and Leopold Bracci.

The stone-work of the interior was executed by workmen brought from Marseilles. All the work has been particularly well done, but that of the carpenter, Signor Annibale Renzi deserves special mention, in a city where this kind of work is rarely good. Signor Daniel Ziegler, the *custode* of the church, was employed as watchman and general assistant to the rector during the whole of the construction, and was indefatigable in the duty intrusted to his charge.

The plan of the building is that of the Basilica, with apse, nave, and side-aisles. Its general dimensions are as follows: Length of nave, outside, 118 feet; of apse, 20 feet; total, 138 feet. Width at front, outside, including tower, 66 feet; through body of church, outside, 62 feet. The walls are 3 feet thick.

Width of nave, inside (to centre of pillar), 32 feet; of aisles, 12 feet each. Height of church from floor to roof, inside, 59 feet; of clerestory-walls, inside, 47 feet, 6 inches. Height of aisle-walls, outside, 27 feet; of front, to apex of roof, 66 feet; of tower, 139 feet.

The building is constructed in the early Gothic of Northern Italy, in unequal courses of lake-colored brick, brought from Siena, and on the outside of travertine from the quarries near Tivoli. Travertine is the stone of which the Coliseum and St. Peter's, in Rome, are built. The stone used in the walls of the interior is a large-grained, calcareous stone known as Fontvieille, from the quarries of Arles, in France. It is a rich cream-color, and harmonizes exceedingly well with brickwork. For the capitals, or where great carrying-power was required, a harder variety, known as Estiallades, was used. The clerestory-walls are carried by nine whole and six three-quarter pillars each formed of a central shaft of polished red granite, surrounded by four smaller shafts of dove-colored Carrara marble. These rest upon solid bases of red marble from Perugia, and the dark-blue marble known as Bardiglio.

The nave is covered with an open timber roof—the ground of fir, the beams and ribs of chestnut. The side-aisles are vaulted in fine brick, with ribs of Arles-stone.

The floor is a kind of rough mosaic, known as Venetian pavement. The small stones which form the mosaic are set in a bed of clay and brick-dust, and the pavement is thus much drier than a marble one would be. As a further precaution, the floor has been made hollow, after an old Roman model, with a space of eighteen inches between the large tiles on which the Venetian pavement is laid and the actual vault which covers the cellars. The furnaces are so arranged that the hot air can be

turned between the two floors along the centre of the church, and, circulating freely through their whole extent, escape into the body of the church through openings under the cornice of the side-walls, above the heads of the congregation. A most desirable result has been reached by this arrangement, namely, absolute freedom from dampness, and from draughts caused by the violent rush of hot air into the body of the church.

A main doorway, with double arch, gives entrance from the Via Nazionale directly into the nave at its west end, while two doors open from either end of the south aisle into the garden, which lies along the Via Napoli, on that side of the church. One of these is arranged with a porch outside, with shed-roof under which carriages may drive in rainy weather. The last, or westerly, bay of the south aisle, which stands directly between this door and the main entrance of the west end, is really the first story of the tower, which rises directly from the body of the church. This bay, which opens with great arches into both the nave and south aisle, will be used as a baptistery, with large font, standing free, in the centre. This has unfortunately, not yet been given. The easterly bay of this same aisle—the south—is occupied by the sacristy, with organ-chamber over it.

The apse which forms the sanctuary has an inside depth of twenty feet. A choir, twenty-two feet in depth, is thrown forward from this, into the nave inclosed by a rail of colored marble. This choir-rail is developed at its two corners into a pulpit and reading-desk, arranged somewhat after the manner of the *ambones* of the primitive Church. The choir-rail incloses stalls for six clergy and seven singers on either side. The choir is entered by three steps of dark-green marble.

The apse will be separated from the choir by the com-

munion-rail—not yet given—and is raised two steps above the floor of the choir. The altar, given in memory of Richard Cecil Nevin, is set forward from the wall in the old basilica manner, and is reached by three steps of white-and-red marble. The floor of the apse and choir is a combination of English encaustic tiles and colored marbles. The marbles chiefly used in this, as also in the choir-rail and the pulpit and reading-desk, are the *rosso* and *verde antico*, the yellow and green of Siena and Genoa, and white Greek marble. This work is exceedingly handsome, yet comparatively inexpensive in Rome, where marble-work is good and cheap, and wood-work very poor and dear.

On the north side of the apse is the bishop's chair—with seats for two attendant presbyters—in marble, after an early model. This chair was given largely by subscriptions from the English and Scotch Churches, whence came our episcopal succession. On the south side of the apse are a *piscina* and *sedilia* for three clergy.

The vault of the apse should be finished in ancient mosaic, but stands at present unfinished in rough brickwork.

The lower walls of the apse are in the same condition, but are hung with damask hangings until funds are forthcoming to finish them in marble or tiles. So, also, the walls of the church below the windows of the aisles. The carving of the capitals of the main columns, and of the cornices running around the clerestory, have also been left unfinished for want of funds. On the exterior of the church, the only important work left unfinished is in the spaces over the main doorway and the spandrel at the corners of the large west window, which it is desired to fill with mosaic representations of our Lord, as "I am the door," and of the Four Evangelists.

The stained glass in the church has all come from one firm—Messrs. Clayton & Bell, No. 311 Regent Street, London. The windows of the apse, the great west window, and thirteen windows on the ground-floor of the church, have already been given. These all follow one general plan of subjects and treatment. The windows of the apse represent the leading scenes of our Lord's life, except that the central window, instead of the Resurrection, represents the vision of our Lord to St. Paul—"Last of all He was seen of me also." This window was given by the Right Rev. William Bacon Stevens, D. D., LL. D., Bishop of Pennsylvania, in memory of the first bishop of that see, the Right Rev. William White, D. D. The window on the south side of the apse, representing the taking of our Lord by the Roman soldiery, and the "Behold the Man!" of the Roman governor, is given in memory of the Right Rev. Alonzo Potter, D. D., late Bishop of Pennsylvania, who held the first service of our church in Rome in a private house in 1859.

The window on the north side of the apse, representing the Annunciation and Nativity, is in memory of Julia Augusta Stevens, who died in Rome at Christmas-tide, 1870.

The great wheel-window at the west end represents in its central medallion our Lord, with hand raised in act of blessing, with figures of eight early Roman martyrs in the smaller medallions around Him, namely—Saints Ignatius, Agnes, Sebastian, Cecilia, Lawrence, Prudentiana, Clement, and Petronilla. This window is given in memory of Sigmund H. Horstman and Sallie H. Horstman.

The double-light windows of the nave, eleven in number, illustrate the life of St. Paul. Beginning with "Brought up at the feet of Gamaliel," and "I lived a Pharisee," in the first window on the left of the west door, the story of his life is carried

through in order until it closes with the martyrdom at the Tre Fontane and the burial in the Catacombs at Rome. These windows are given severally in memory of—1. _____ ; 2. Desier Alstyne; 3. James Brooks; 4. George Risteau Amoss; 5. Cornelia Burrowes; 6. John W. and Mary Anne Smyth; 7. Emily P. Wood; 8. Thomas Crawford; 9. Hartman Kuhn; 10. John Alstyne; 11. The Right Rev. Samuel Seabury, D. D., Bishop of Connecticut, and first Bishop of the Church in America; this window is given by Mr. J. C. Hooker, of Rome.

The two windows in the baptistery represent (1) St. Paul's own baptism, and (2) the baptism of the jailer of Philippi and his household; and (1) our Lord taking the little children in His arms, and (2) giving commandment to His Apostles to go and baptize all nations. These windows are given in memory of Mary Ludlum Cass, and of Charles Marshall Haseltine.

The trefoil and quatrefoil lights over the double windows of the aisles and baptistery are filled with representations of the Apostles and of St. John Baptist.

There are thirteen windows in the clerestory, at present filled with plain, tinted glass, but which it is desired in time to fill with memorial windows of rich stained glass. Information in regard to the design and cost of these can be had by writing to the rector, No. 89 Via della Mercede, or any member of the vestry at Rome. There is much yet in the way of decoration, or furnishing of the church, that might well be given as memorial-work. It is highly desirable to bring out prominently this feature of our Christian life in Rome, preëminently the city of Christian saints and martyrs.

Besides the windows referred to above, may be mentioned, in this connection, the font, the organ, communion-rail (metal), decoration of choir-walls, the mosaic of apse (a grand subject),

the mosaics over the main doorway, outside, and on the façade around the west window, a rectory and school-rooms, railing of beaten iron-work around the church, etc.

So, in due time, may St. Paul's within the Walls be perfectly finished, to the glory of God and the honor of American Christianity, in that city whose faith of old was "spoken of throughout the whole world."

The Building-Fund Committee begs to acknowledge the receipt of the following subscriptions for the building of St. Paul's Church, Rome, Italy, received directly by the committee at *Rome*. Below will be found a list of subscriptions received through the treasurers in New York and Boston. It should be noted that some names appear in both lists. The amounts subscribed are given in Italian currency, which has ranged during the building of the church at from seven to eighteen per cent. below par. The dollar at par is equal to 5 lire, 85 centesimi:

	Lire cti.
Adam, Mrs. J. H.....	100 00
Alms-box at church-door	652 00
Amoss, Madame G. Ristea.....	500 00
Anonymous.....	500 00
Anonymous, February 16, 1875.....	550 00
An American Lady.....	125 00
Appleton, Mrs. W. H.....	250 00
Armstrong, per D. M.....	500 00
Arnold, Mr. and Mrs. H. P.....	500 00
Ashley, Mrs. Maria.....	500 00
B., Mrs. M.....	900 00

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Babcock, S. D.....	488 24
Baker, Mrs. S. L.....	30 00
Baldwin, Governor H. P.....	1,000 00
Bartlett, Miss A.....	50 00
Bartlett, Miss A.....	100 00
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Beekman, James W.....	2,000 00
Bell, Miss Julia.....	500 00
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Bigelow, William Sturgis.....	1,500 00
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Campbell, Mrs.....	50 00
Cannon, Le Grand B.....	2,500 00
Carhart, G. B.....	250 00
Carter, Colonel J. F.....	50 00

	Lire ct.
Cash at different times.....	315 00
Chatterton, Mrs.....	50 00
Chester Cathedral, collection in.....	515 39
Clapp, George P., \$1,000 gold.....	5,679 00
Clapp, George P.....	2,711 00
Clapp, George P.....	2,500 00
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Cleveland, Mrs. S. P.....	100 00
Coale, Mrs. and Miss Bell.....	168 75
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De Flagg, Mrs. S.....	500 00
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Anonymous	1 00
Anonymous	1 00
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Cash.....	50
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